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LELAND·STANFORD·JVNIOR·VNIVERSITY

THE MIDDLE ENGLISH CHARTERS OF CHRIST

A Dissertation

PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF BRYN MAWR COLLEGE IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

MARY CAROLINE SPALDING

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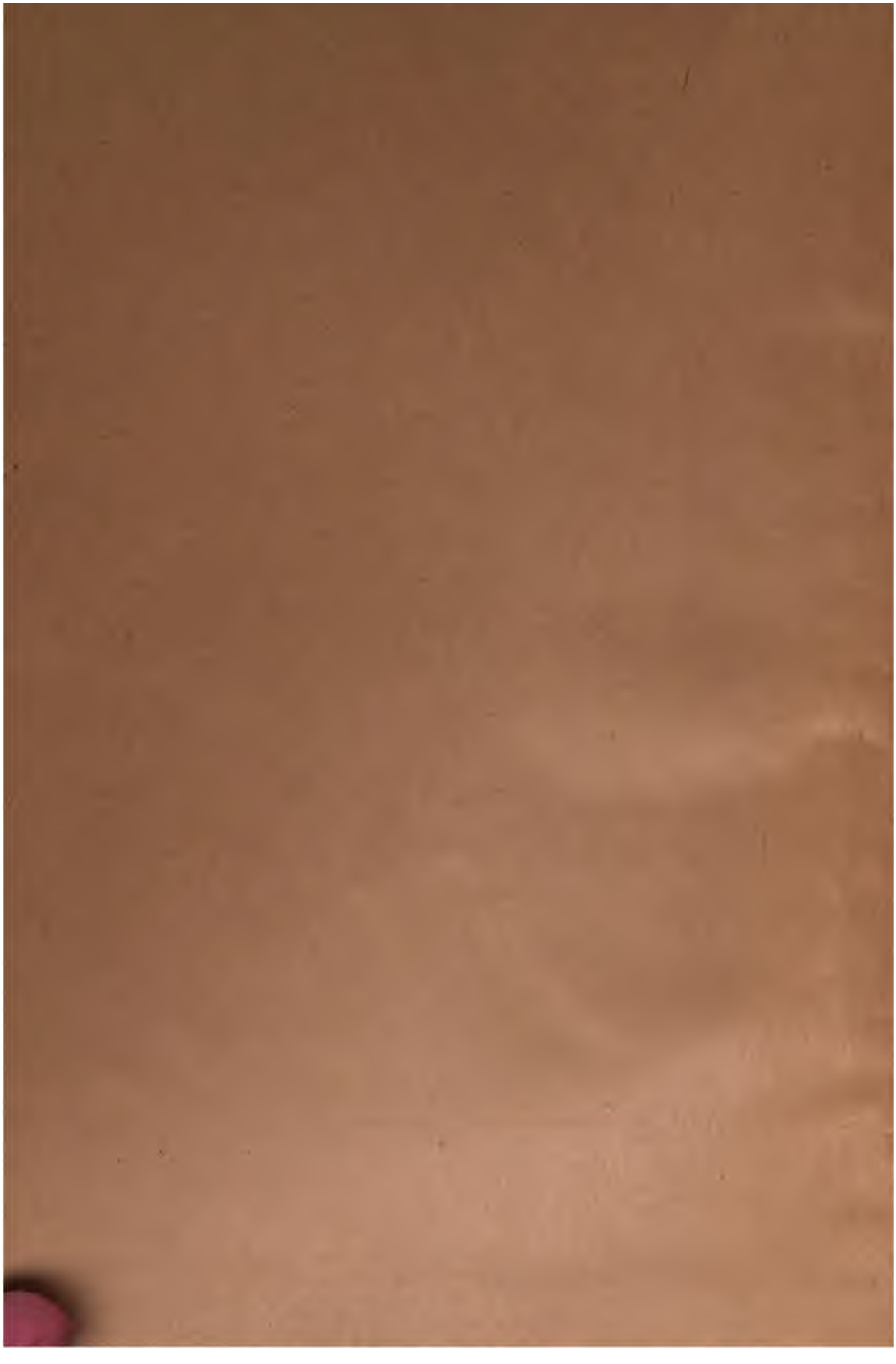

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that the *planctus* was dramatized any earlier than the *Testament of Christ.*" [9] Since, however, there appears to be no example either of the Last Will and Testament or of Christ's Charter in the Middle English drama,[10] the type that Professor Taylor here has in mind is undoubtedly the *Lament,* or *Complaint,* of Christ, a motive repeatedly utilized in the Passion and Judgment plays.[11] The essence of this form is the Saviour's reproach, "Man, this have I done for thee; what hast thou done for Me?" [12] It makes no bequests and

[9] *Op. cit.* p. 9.

[10] In the Digby *Burial of Christ,* however, there is an interesting reference to Christ's Body as a parchment book, written in bloody letters:

Mawdleyn—

271 'Cum hithere, Ioseph, beholde & looke,
How many bludy letters ben wreten in þis buke,
Small margente her is.'

Ioseph—

274 'Ye, this parchement is stritchit owt of syse.'

[11] See, for example, *York Plays* (ed. L. T. Smith) *Crucifixio Christi* vv. 253-58; *Towneley Plays* (*E. E. T. S.*) *Crucifixion,* stanza 38; *Digby Plays* (*E. E. T. S.*) *Burial of Christ* vv. 277-282, Joseph's speech, "O all the pepill that passis hereby," etc. For a list of Complaints of Christ see Taylor, *The Relation of the Middle English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric* (*Mod. Phil.* v. 8, footnote). See also Cook, *Christ* 208 ff. (ed. 1900). To these I add the following: Complaints of Christ in *Bonner Beitr.* XIV. 128, 208, 210; *Rich. Rolle* I. 118-119 (in the 2nd arrow); *Leg. Aurea* (Nuremberg 1488) fol. LXVIII (2nd. col)—LXVIII[b].; *Firmiani Lactantii Opera,* ed. Migne, Tom. II. cols. 283-286, a poem of doubtful authorship on the Passion; and the following in MSS. for which I am indebted to Professor Brown, who has kindly permitted me to copy the references from his MS. transcripts:—Caius Coll. 174, p. 481; Camb. Univ. Ff. 5. 48, fol. 43 b; Bod. Tanner 110, fol. 238 a (also in Caius Coll. Camb. 84, p. 180).

[12] Cook (*Mod. Lang. Notes* VII. 134-137, and *Christ* p. 208) suggests *Lamentations* I. 12: *o vos omnes qui transitis per viam, attendite et videte si est dolor sicut dolor meus,* as a possible source for the *Complaints* of Christ, and adds that in the Sarum use this verse is employed as follows:—1) as Antiphon for Lauds in Saturday of the

grants no deed, and is thus distinct both from the Testament (properly so called) and from the Charter.

Accordingly, I have found it advisable, for the sake of avoiding ambiguity, to employ the title *Charter* and not *Testament* for those compositions which have the actual

Paschal vigil; 2) as Respond to the ninth lesson of the 3rd Nocturn of the same day; 3) as part of the first lesson for the 1st Nocturn of Good Friday. It appears to me that Cook is certainly right. See also *York Breviary* I. (*Surtees Soc.* LXXI. 1880) *Feria Sexta in Parasceue domini, Lectio* VIII. col. 393, where the same verse is used. Out of this verse, there seem to have developed a number of forms. One of the commonest has for theme the words, *In cruce sum pro te; qui peccas, desine pro me!* to which are often prefixed a few lines such as the following:

Aspice mortalis, fuit umquam passio talis?
Peccatum sperne, pro quo mea vulnera cerne
Aspice qui transis, quia tu mihi causa doloris, etc.

According to John Weever these and similar verses were often inscribed under crucifixes or pictures of Christ in old Abbey Churches; see Weever's *Ancient Funeral Monuments* (1631) 117-118, and 488; see also *Rich. Rolle* I. 434; MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. 323, no. 8; MS. Emman. Coll. Camb. 106 (14th cent.) art. 10*d*, fol. 36: *Tu qui esgardes ma figure | Jeo su deu tu ma facture* (address of Christ on the Cross). It occurs also in countless other places. Another development of the same theme takes the form, *Homo uide quid pro te patior,* an English version of which appears in MS. Trin. Coll. Camb. 1157, fol. 69: "O man unkynde, haue thow yn mynde my passion smert," etc. See also MS. Phillips 8336, Art. 18: *Vous ke me veez en la croiz morir E pur l'amour de vous si dure mort suffrir.* Miss F. A. Foster of Bryn Mawr College called my attention to this poem, recorded in an account of the manuscript by Paul Meyer, *Romania* XIII. 518. Again, a third type is found in Christ's reproach to His people, *York Breviary* I. *Dominica quarta Quadragesime, Lectio* IX, col. 334; *Popule meus, quid feci aut quid molestus fui tibi?* Richard Rolle (*Med. de Passione Domini,* Horstmann, *R. R.* I. 88) enlarges upon this theme, which has given rise to a number of Complaints, as for instance that (mentioned by Taylor) in *Das Alsfelder Passionsspiel* in *Das Drama des Mittelalters* III. (*Deut. Nat. Litt.* XIV. Stuttgart) 764-65, and also another in the *Frankfurter Passionsspiel* of 1493, *Das Drama des Mittelalters* II. 505-06: *O liebes folgk, sage mir an: was han ich dir zu leide getan,* etc.

Charter form, or in which the Deed is the organizing element of the piece, as in the *Long Charter*.[13]

[13] Dr. Perrow (*op. cit.*) thinks that the use of the title *testament* for the *Long Charter, Version A* (my own designation for the text contained in MSS. Vernon etc., see pp. xiv ff.) might be justified on the ground that this Charter contains: a) the autobiographical element, which he has shown to be a frequent feature of the legal testament and its imitations; b) the same subject matter as the New Testament (of the Bible), which he believes was regarded as Christ's Last Will; c) the Last Will of Jesus. On the other hand, it may be replied, first that neither autobiography nor the subject matter of the New Testament is peculiar to the type known as the *Last Will and Testament*, since these features often appear in various other types of composition, such as the *Complaint* and the Passion poems; and secondly, that the Will of Christ occupies but eight lines out of 234 in the shortest version of the *Long Charter*, the organizing element being the Deed itself, which forms the centre of unity in the poem. It seems to me, therefore, that *testament* as a title for this version of the Charter, as well as for those consisting merely of the Deed, is misleading.

I

CLASSIFICATION OF MATERIAL

§ 1. Extant Charters of Christ

There are five distinct compositions extant which belong to the literary type known as the "Charter of Christ." These are:

I. A Latin prose charter, of about twenty-one lines, entitled *Carta Domini Nostri Iesu Christi,* in a vellum manuscript of the fifteenth century, Brit. Mus. Add. 21253, which belonged in 1633 to John Edwards of Stansti, and is chiefly made up of Latin homilies for Sundays throughout the year.[1] The Charter (f. 186ᵃ-186ᵇ) manifestly forms part of a homiletical discourse. The document itself is followed by the application, presented in the form of a curious analogy: as in civil law, a son may not receive the inheritance of a father who has been slain by an enemy, unless he pursue and avenge his father's death upon the slayer; so man, a sinner, may not receive the heavenly inheritance granted by Christ's Charter, unless he pursue and destroy sin, the slayer of our Father Christ. This text, which, so far as I am aware, has never before been printed, will be found in Appendix II.

II. A Latin poem, of from thirty-six to thirty-eight lines, entitled, in MS. St. John's Coll. Camb. E. 24, *Carta Libera d. n. Ihesu Christi,* and in MS. D. 8 of the same college, *Carta Redempcionis humane.* Ms. E. 24 is a vellum manuscript of the fourteenth century, with twenty-six lines to

[1] See *Cat. of Add. to the* MSS. *in the Brit. Mus. in the Years* 1854-1860 (London 1875) 347-8. Where place of publication is omitted below, London is to be understood, and titles to catalogues are occasionally otherwise simplified.

the page; the *Carta Libera* begins at fol. 22. Ms. D. 8, also vellum, is a fifteenth century manuscript with thirty-two to forty-two lines to a page, and the Charter is found at fol. 174^{b}. In Appendix II of the present study the text of E. 24 is printed with the variant readings of D. 8. The important relation which the *Carta Libera* bears to the *Short Charter* (IV below) will be discussed in Chapter II.

III. *Carta Dei,* in Middle English verse, consisting of forty two lines in couplets, printed by W. D. Macray in *Notes and Queries* (Ser. VIII. Vol. VIII. 240), from Bod. MS. Kent Charter 233. The date of this manuscript is 1395, though the transcript of the poem which, according to Macray, is written on the back of the Charter, is probably later. I have no means of knowing the date of its writing. It is reprinted in Appendix II.

IV. A Middle English poem of thirty-two lines, in couplets, which I shall call for convenience the *Short Charter.* It occurs, under various titles, in thirteen manuscripts which will be described in detail in Section 3. The only version of the *Short Charter* hitherto printed, so far as I am aware, is that in Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 5465 ("Fairfax MS."), which is one of the latest and worst texts (B. Fehr, in Herrig's *Archiv* CVI. 69-70). The earliest of the extant manuscripts is probably Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 37049, which was written in the first half of the fifteenth century. It is clear, however, from other evidence, that this form of the Charter originated in the fourteenth century.[2] For the texts of the *Short Charter,* see pp. 4 ff.

V. A Middle English poem, also in couplets, which appears under various titles in the different manuscripts, but in the present study will be designated the *Long Charter.* Three distinct versions of this poem occur:

[2] See p. xx.

1) Version A, normally two hundred and thirty-four lines, is represented by seven manuscripts, of which two (MS. Rawl. poet. 175 and MS. Vernon) belong to the fourteenth century, and the others to the fifteenth century. This text has already been printed from the Vernon manuscript by Horstmann[3] and Dr. Furnivall.[4] Version A is the shortest and simplest of the three. Christ addresses man directly, and after briefly reproaching him for his ingratitude, in the manner of the *Complaint of God*,[5] He tells him of the heavenly inheritance that He has bestowed upon him. This gift was made, the Lord explains, by His birth into the world; it was confirmed in the Passion, and the Deed of it was written upon the parchment of His Body. He concludes by telling man of the Indenture left him as surety for the gift, and admonishes him to pay his rent and keep from sin. If man will faithfully do these things, he may claim his inheritance when he will. The allegory upon which the poem is based consists in representing Christ's Body as the Charter—the actual crucified Body being the original document, and the Sacramental Body being the Indenture, the copy delivered to man.

2) Version B, containing four hundred and eighteen lines in its most reliable form, occurs in six manuscripts of the fifteenth century. It includes nearly all of the text of A, and two hundred lines in addition, some of which consist of digressions, and some of explanatory and transitional passages. There are also important differences between the texts of A and B in the lines which are common to both; these will be considered in Chapter IV. The text of MS. Harl. 2382 has been printed in comparison with the

[3] *Nachträge zu den Legenden*, published in Herrig's *Archiv* LXXIX. 424-32.

[4] *Minor Poems of the Vernon* MS. Part II. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 117) 637-57.

[5] *Political, Religious, and Love Poems* (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 15. A) 191 ff. The theme is, of course, exceedingly common.

Vernon text of A, by Horstmann and Furnivall, as cited above.

3) Version C, preserved, so far as I am aware, in but one manuscript, Royal 17, C xvii., of the first half of the fifteenth century, is much longer than B, containing six hundred and eighteen lines. It includes all but fifty-seven lines of B, and has in addition two hundred and fifty-seven lines which are not found in either B or A. These consist chiefly of digressions and enlargements. Of the fifty-seven lines of the B-text which are here lacking, twenty-nine appear to have been accidentally dropped by some scribe (see below, pp. lxxxvii ff.). Differences in the readings of lines common to C and B will be discussed in Chapter IV. Version C has also been printed by Dr. Furnivall in comparison with the Vernon text.

A text of the *Charter of Christ* which may perhaps be merely another manuscript of the *Short Charter*, is described by Dr. Furnivall in the *Athenaeum* for November 11, 1876 (p. 623), as follows:

"An Early English Poem in the form of a legal deed or Grant by Christ to mankind of his love and life, reserving the rent of men's faith and obedience; the deed being sealed with Christ's seal on the Cross, etc., all in regular legal form." According to Dr. Furnivall, the poem occurs at the end of a Latin sermon in a manuscript possessed by the Bedford Library at that time, and of a date later than the thirteenth (?) century. I learn further that on June 17, 1904, this manuscript was sold at Sotheby's (Lot. 457), for £9, to Bernard Quaritch. This is the only information I have been able to obtain regarding this text. Though the grant described above (Christ's love and life) does not correspond with that in the *Short Charter* (Heaven's bliss), the Reservation clause appears to be the same, and the form of the Deed, the seal, etc., suggests the *Short Charter*.

§ 2. The *Charter of Pardon*

A type of Charter distinct from the deed of gift with which the present study is concerned, yet in some respects related to it, is Christ's *Charter of Pardon.* Like the deed of gift, this purports to be a document drawn up by the Lord in behalf of man. The only example of this type which I have seen is a poem of fourteen seven-line stanzas, entitled the *Charter of Pardon* or the *Charter of Mercy,* found in the thirty-fourth chapter of the *Pylgrimage of the Sowle* (ed. Caxton, 1483), an English translation of J. Gallôpe's French prose version of the *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* of Guillaume de Deguileville. According to Dibdin's record,[6] this translation was made in 1413. The Charter, along with other poems occurring in the *Pylgrimage,* has been assigned by Dr. Furnivall to Hoccleve. For the text and Dr. Furnivall's remarks concerning it, see the *Early English Text Society* Extra Series LXXII. pp. xxviii. ff. and xx. ff.

This poem contains the initial formula of the Royal Pardon in English translation,—"Jhesu Kyng to Mychael and all thyn assessours etc. . . . my gretyng." After thus beginning, Christ declares that at the instigation of Miserycord and the Blessed Virgin, His Mother, He will receive into His peace all those who cry "Jesu Mercy" before their death and defy their earthly lusts.[7] He further grants them full release from hell pain, and forbids Michael to proceed against them. All, however, who remain in sin without purpose of amending, trusting only to this Charter for salvation, and all who are obstinate and desperate, are excepted

[6] See *Typ. Antiq.* I. (1810) 152 f.

[7] For a legal writ of *Perdonavimus,* see H. Hall, *A Formula Book of Eng. Official Hist. Documents* Pt. I. (Camb. 1908) 84. This writ, dated in the 3rd year of Edward I., contains the clause: *ad instanciam karissimé matris nostré, Alianoré Reginé Anglié, perdonavimus,* etc., an interesting parallel to Christ's declaration that His Mother and Miserycord interceded with Him on behalf of sinners.

from the benefits of the Pardon. The final *formulae—In cuius rei testimonium* and *Teste Rege* (or *me ipso*) *apud,* etc.—are lacking.

The two documents described below are inaccessible to me. From the accounts given of them, they appear to be Pardons similar to that which Furnivall attributes to Hoccleve:

I. "A General Free Pardon or Charter of Hevyn's Blys, compiled in our old Englyssh Tong in 1400." Dibdin,[8] from whom I obtained the reference, says it was issued by Lant's [9] press, though he assigns no date for its appearance.

II. *The General Pardon,* described in 1853 by Charles C. Babington,[10] of St. John's College, Cambridge, as follows:

"An imperfect copy of a small tract (measuring five and a half inches by three and a half inches) has recently come into my hands, of which I much desire the wanting parts. It is entitled: '*The General Pardon,* geuen longe agone, and sythe newly confyrmed, by our Almightie Father, with many large Priuileges, Grauntes, and Bulles graunted for euer, as is to be seen hereafter: Drawne out of Frenche into English. By Wyllyam Hayward.[11] Imprinted at London, by Wyllyam How, for Wyllyam Pickeringe.'" "There is no date," says Mr. Babington, "but it is believed to have been printed in or about 1571. It is in black letter, and is an imitation of the Roman Catholic pardons. It consists of twelve leaves.

[8] *Typ. Antiq.* III. (London 1816) 582, footnote. Herbert, according to Dibdin, refers to White's *Cat.* of 1789 for this work.

[9] I do not know Lant's date. He is spoken of in 1541, and "became a member of the Company in 1556." See Dibdin III. 579.

[10] *Notes and Queries* 1st Series VII. 15. Mr. Babington's note is dated Jan. 1, 1853.

[11] This Wyllyam Hayward is doubtless the same as the author of the "*Bellum Grammaticale. A discourse . . . betwene . . . the noune and the verbe . . .* Turned into English by W. H(ayward)." H. Bynneman. (London 1569). See the Catalogue of Books in the Brit. Mus. under *Andreas Guarna.*

In my copy, the last seven of these are torn through their middle vertically." Mr. Babington searched for this tract without success in the British Museum, Bodleian, Cambridge University, Lambeth, and in several of the college libraries. Possibly it is a copy of No. I. above. The phrase "compiled in our old Englyssh Tong," in the description of No. I., suggests that its source may have been in a foreign language; and *The General Pardon* is definitely stated to be a translation from the French.

It is to be noted that in No. I., if we may judge from the title, the pardon and the deed of gift seem to be combined. We find the combination also in one text of the *Short Charter*—MS. Ash. 189—where seven lines referring to a pardon are annexed to the Deed.[12] No. II., though said to be drawn up in imitation of the Roman Catholic Pardons, contains "many large priuileges, Grauntes," etc.; these "Grauntes" may have included a grant of Heaven within the Pardon. Having but one text of the Pardon type accessible, it is not possible to determine the relation that it bears to the *Charter of Christ*. It seems probable, however, from such evidence as we have, that the Pardon was merely a later outgrowth of the Charter.

§ 3. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *Short Charter*

A. Brit. Mus. MS. Sloane 3292, Art. 3, fol. 2.[13] The title of the poem is *Magna Carta de Libertatibus Mundi*. The date of the manuscript is given as the sixteenth century by the cataloguer.[14] It contains but three other articles:—

[12] See p. 15.

[13] For my transcript of this Charter, I am indebted to Professor Brown, and for examination of the seal and legend to Dr. Helen E. Sandison.

[14] *Index to the Sloane* MSS. *in the Brit. Mus.* (1904) 430. Here the Charter is incorrectly cited as Latin poetry instead of English. Cf. also Ayscough's Cat., issued in 1782.

(1) Medical Receipts (or Prescriptions), anonymous; (2) Paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer; and (4) Receipts for dyeing silk, making colours and inks. In regard to the date of the Charter, this manuscript furnishes some interesting information. Written in the two spaces at each side of a large roundish seal, drawn at the base of the Charter as though appended to it, and inscribed with a wounded heart marked with five drops of blood, is the following note: "Mr. Lambert a Justice of Peace in Kent [15] found this on a grauestone in an Abby in Kent bearing date A° Dni 1400 a copie whereof was geuen to Mr. Humfry Windham of Winsecombe in the county of Somerset. Uppon the other si[de o]f the seale there was should be a P[e]l[ican] [picki]ng her bloo[d] for. . . ." If this statement is true—and I can see no reason to doubt it—the Charter belongs to the fourteenth century. The words "Uppon the other si[de o]f the seale," etc., I am inclined to interpret as meaning that a pelican (for the reading *pelican* cf. account of MS. Stowe 620 below) was actually carved upon the stone beside the seal; [16] but that the person who copied from the stone did not care to reproduce the picture upon his own Charter. The letters *R & B* [or *D*] are written in pencil above the strap of the seal.

The couplets of the Charter are arranged in groups, each containing one or two Latin rubrics. The scribe of this text,

[15] This is evidently William Lambarde, author of the *Perambulations of Kent*. There is, however, no reference in the *Perambulations* to this Charter or the stone upon which it was found.

[16] Though so late in date, the following may have interest, as being perhaps a survival of an ancient custom: on a stone, a flat tombstone, in the Church Yard of Leigh, between Worcester and Malvern, is the "pelican in her piety" on the top of the Cross which is sculptured in the stone. The stone bears the label "For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come." The earliest date on the stone is 1797. This is an abstract of a note, signed by Cuthbert Bede, which occurs in *Notes and Queries* 5th Ser. IX. 261, dated Apr. 6th, 1878.

whether "Mr. Lambert" or another, has inverted the order of the two last groups, that introduced by *Hijs Testibus* coming at the end instead of the group containing the date.

B. Brit. Mus. MS. Stowe 620, fol. 11[b]. Title, *Magna Carta de libertatibus mundi.* The manuscript is a folio of paper, with thirty-eight leaves, of the late sixteenth century. It contains "Kentish pedigrees, evidences, heraldic and genealogical notes taken in Churches and private houses, etc., collected in or about the years 1592-1594," together with other items chiefly relating to legal affairs. Among early documents copied in Stowe 620 are: (1) "Memoranda of the committal of [John] Foxley, Baron of the Exchequer, on a charge of improper conduct at the assizes at Winchester, 3 Edw. II. [1309-10] . . .;" and (2) "Extracts from the Collectors' accompts of an aid in Kent on the knighting of the Black Prince, 20 Edw. III. [1346]."[17] At the middle of the lower edge of the Charter is represented a pointed seal which bears the legend: *De Charta redemptionis humane Sigillum salvatoris domini nostri Iesu Xpū.* Upon the seal also is a heart with the spear-thrust and five drops of blood. To the left of the strap attaching the seal to the Charter, and after the last words of the Charter itself, occurs the following: *Cor charte appensum rosei vice cerne sigilli;* which continues on the other side, *spreta morte tui solus id egit amor.* To the left of the seal itself, and therefore not forming part of the Charter, are the words: *Matris ut hec proprio stirps est sacrata cruore Pascis item proprio Xpc̄ cruore tue;* something seems to be missing to complete the sentence. At the right of the Charter are some English words: "ther under nethe in the corner is the olde pointed seale within this charter was sett downe was a pellicane a pickinge Her brest and with bloode flowinge Her yonge one in the nest

[17] *Cat. of the Stowe* MSS. *in the Brit. Mus.* I. (1895) 482.

with the verses about her." Then under all this are the Latin verses:

Ut pellicanus fit patris sanguine sanus
Sic nos salvati sumus omnes sanguine nati

The words "ther under nethe in the corner is the olde pointed seale," seem to mean that in the original the seal was attached to one corner of the Charter instead of depending from the centre of the lower margin, as it is represented in the Stowe MS. It will be noted that the original contained a pelican (and here the word is plain, furnishing me with the clue for the reading in Sloane 3292) within the Charter itself, if we are to take the literal meaning of the words.

C. Brit. Mus. Add. Charter 5960. "*Charta* [*Jesu Christi*] *de libertatibus Mundi,* written in English verse, in imitation of a charter, about the year 1500." [18] Upon application to Sir George Warner of the Department of Manuscripts, I was informed that Add. Ch. 5960 belongs to the end of the sixteenth century. It contains the legend: *Cor charte appensum rosei vice cerne sigilli spreta morte, tui solus id egit amor,* in common with MS. Stowe 620, and bears two lists of formal signatures. The first is headed: "Sealed & delivered in ye presence of" . . . after which follow the names of the three Marys, St. John, and the centurion Longinus. The second reads:

Ita fidem facimus { Matthew / Marke / Luke / Iohn } *Notary Publici*

Upon the strap of the seal (which does not itself appear in my rotograph) are the letters "CHS IHS," and below,

[18] *List of Additions to the Department of* MSS. [*in the Brit. Mus.*] *in the Year* 1841, p. 64.

factum est cor meum tanquam cera liques . . . . Psal. 22, 13 [?].[19]

D. Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 6848, Art. 36, fol. 221. The Harleian catalogue describes the manuscript as follows: "A Folio, containing Papers chiefly relating to Ecclesiastical Affairs. A great part of them bought of Mr. Baker by Mr. H. Wanley." Art. 36 is said to be "a paper in old English Verse, entitled *Magna Charta de libertatibus Mundi.* In form of Letters patent from our Saviour."[20] The date of the manuscript was given me as the eighteenth century by Sir George Warner. This text, written as prose, is almost exactly the same as that in Add. Ch. 5960, except for spelling, and there is good reason to believe that it is a copy of the other; see p. lxv. It contains the same list of witnesses, etc., and the sentence beginning *cor charte,* but lacks the words on the strap of the seal: *factum est cor meum* etc. This strap is represented by two strokes down from the body of the document, and no seal is drawn at the end. The letters "CHS IHS" of Add. Charter are "CHS CHS" in Harl. 6848.

E. Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 37049, Art. 16, fol. 23[a]. The manuscript contains: "The Desert of Religion and other poems and religious pieces, etc., mostly illustrated, in Northern English . . . . Paper (except ff. 1, 2); ff. 1 + 96. First half of the XV. cent. The colored drawings are in the crudest style. On f. 1 is an old number 94. 10¾ in. x 8 in."[21] The title given to the poem in the catalogue,

[19] Incorrect reference. It should be either *Psal.* 21. 15 (Vulgate), or *Psal.* 22. 14 (Eng. Versions). We should expect the Vulgate numeration, since the verse is quoted in Latin. It looks as though the scribe, after copying the verse, added the reference from an English Bible.

[20] *Cat. of Harl.* MSS. III. (1808) 435. The title cited by the catalogue does not appear in my rotograph of this Charter.

[21] *Cat. of Add. to the MSS. in the Brit. Mus. in the Years* 1900-05 (1907) 324 ff.

which does not, however, appear in the Charter itself, is, *The Charter of Human Redemption.* It is written as prose. The Deed is represented as inscribed upon an immense sheet, held in the two hands of Christ on the Cross. The drawing of the body of Christ is very crude. He is covered with the marks of wounds, and His hands and feet are pierced with nails; He wears a curious sort of turban and a halo surrounds His head. The spear wound is also to be seen, dropping blood. Instruments of the Passion (scourges, spear, hammer, the pillar, wrapped with the cords and stained with blood, the sponge on a pole, and, of course, the Cross itself) are all to be seen, not in the Deed but upon the folio containing it. At the bottom of the sheet are representations of grinning skulls, and bones. To the middle of the lower edge of the Charter is attached a pointed seal, drawn as though fastened by thongs in the usual fashion, and in the centre of the seal is the heart with the spear thrust and the five drops of blood. The sacred monogram "IHS" appears on the seal.

F. Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 116, Art. 2, fol. 97ᵇ. Title, *Carta Redempcionis Humane.* "A Parchment Book, written by different Hands, in a small fol." . . . . "[The Charter] is a short Poem, feigned to be Spoken by our Savior, and composed in the Form of a Deed of Feoffment. In the Index of Contents at the Beginning of the Book, it is called *Magna Carta Salvatoris.*" [22] The Catalogue gives no indication as to where the hands change. The date assigned to Article 2 by Sir George Warner is the second half of the fifteenth century. This copy of the Charter contains no seal and no Latin sentences.

G. Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 24343, Art. 2, ff. 6ᵇ-7ᵃ, written in single columns. The title (given at the end of the Charter)

[22] *Cat. of Harl.* MSS. I. (1808) 35.

is *Carta Redempcionis humane.* The text is "in English verse, framed in imitation of a grant of land; . . . . [The manuscript is] vellum; XVth cent. Small Quarto."[23] There is no seal attached to this Charter. At the top of fol. 6[b] are the letters "I H C," and at the bottom of fol. 7[a] are the words: "Min harte life and dere," written in a different and more modern hand. From the rotograph in my possession, I should judge the manuscript to be much stained, and fol. 6[b] gives the appearance of having had a portion of another piece erased upon it, or faded, over which the Charter was written. The lines of the Charter are inscribed between the very faint lines of the erased article. It is impossible to determine what this may have been. The only other article in the manuscript is No. 1, which the catalogue describes as follows: "*Les cink ioyes de nostre Dame;* in French verse; preceded by, and interspersed with, prayers in Latin and French."

H. Caius Coll. Camb. MS. 230, Art. 21, fol. 25[b], written in double columns. Title (given in the Colophon), *Carta Humane redempcion* . . . . the rest is cut off by the edge of the page. The manuscript is vellum, of the fifteenth century, and came "from St. Alban's Abbey, as appears by many of the verses contained in the volume. It is closely connected with Abbot John Whethamstede."[24] The Charter has no seal or illustrations.

I. Bod. MS. Ashmole 61, Art. 28, fol. 106, occupying but little more than one-half of one of the double columns in which the manuscript is written. The title heading the

[23] *Cat. of Add. to the* MSS. *in the Brit. Mus. in the Years* 1854-75 II. (1877) 57.

[24] James's *Cat. of the* MSS. *in the Lib. of Gonville and Caius College* I. (Cambridge 1907) 268-76; and "Corrigenda," II. p. xv.

poem is *Testamentum domini.* The manuscript is thus described: "A very tall and narrow folio volume, consisting of 161 leaves of paper of the largest size folded down the length of the sheet. On a flyleaf at the beginning is fixed a torn leaf containing a spoiled copy of 30 lines of the first article, and part of a list of the contents of the volume, which are: A collection of Metrical Romances, Lays, and other Poems in Old English, made by one Rate, in or before the time of Henry VII." [25] At the end of the Charter is drawn a shield, described thus in the catalogue: "a shield charged with a cross between 4 suns, and in the centre a heart with a sun in it." The four suns and the sun within the heart seem to be intended to represent the five wounds of Christ, that in the heart being the one made by the spear. What appears in the drawing to be rays may be blood marks.

J. Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 237, Art. 19, fol. 100-100^{b}: *Carta Humane Redempcionis,* written in double columns. The manuscript is described as a "*Codex Chartaceus et male-habitus* in 4to." [26] The date of this text (art. 19), as furnished me by Sir George Warner, is the late fifteenth century. The Charter is crowded in between art. 18, *De Ordinatione,* and art. 20, *Formula injungendi populo preces, in Ecclesia Parochiali.* The text begins with line 7, immediately following the title, *Carta humane redempcionis,* and proceeds in this order: 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, 19, 21, 23, 25, 27, 29, 31, 33, 1, 2, 3, 4, [5 and 6 lacking], 8, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34. It will be evident that the mistake is due to the scribe's having copied his lines in the wrong order from a text arranged in double columns, something like this:

[25] W. H. Black's *Cat. of the Ashmolean and other* MSS. (Oxford 1845) cols. 106-109.

[26] *Cat. of Harl.* MSS. I. (1808) 73.

TOP OF A FOLIO.

End of	1
	2
another article.	3
Carta humane redempcionis	4
7	8
9	10
11	12
13	14
15	16
17	18
19	20
21	22
23	24
25	26
27	28
29	30
31	32
33	34

The scribe of the original manuscript, having some space left to the right, began his article there; but he had first written his title at the end of the preceding piece, as was customary, before he thought of saving the blank space to the right. The scribe of Harl. 237, seeing the title just above what is in reality line 7, supposed that to be the beginning of the Charter and proceeded to copy from that point down the left column and then down the right. As he had presumably just finished a Latin prose treatise, and would not be looking for rhyme, and as the first few lines he copied of this text made sense, he continued without noticing that after line 17 he was writing nonsense. The Charter has the colophon, *quod* I lang." Whether this is the name of the supposed author or of the scribe I cannot say. The preceding article is subscribed as nearly as I can make out, *H. Goffridus de tempore ord.*.

K. Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 5465 (MS. Fairfax), Art. 50, ff. 119ᵃ-124.ᵃ This manuscript is described in detail by B.

Fehr, in Herrig's *Archiv* CVI. 48-70, and the songs it contains, of which the Charter is one, are printed with the description, exclusive of the musical notation which accompanies them. "Robert Ffayrfax" was, according to Fehr, a celebrated musician and composer who received in 1504 the degree of Mus. D. from Cambridge, in 1511 the same degree from Oxford, and died in 1529. Fehr believes it possible that the manuscript was written by Fairfax's own hand, as we know from entries in the "State's Papers" that he increased his income by writing music books. "Soviel ist sicher," says Fehr, "dass die Handschrift Fairfax' Besitz war: sein Wappen ist auf dem Titelblatt gezeichnet, und auf S. 40 in die beiden Anfangsbuchstaben M hineingeflochten. Wie das Titelblatt weiter andeutet, gehörte das Liederbuch im Jahre 1618 dem General Fairfax, von dem es später in die Hände des Ralph Thoresby von Leeds überging;" etc.

L. Bod. MS. Ashmole 189, fol. 109, written in single column, about twenty-five lines to the page. In this manuscript, as in MS. Fairfax, the Charter figures as a song. It is the tenth in "'A collection of Hymns and religious ditties' in Old English," which is the sixth article (apparently) in the second of the four manuscripts that are bound in Ash. 189. Black's account[27] of this second manuscript is as follows: "The second MS. consists of 40 leaves (ff. 70-109), rudely written, on lines ruled with red ink, in the XVth century. On the upper corner of the second page is a distich, written in a cypher of Arabic numerals for the vowels; which may be read thus:

> 'Qui scripsit certe *Ricardus* nominatur aperte
> Quod si queratur recte *Wrawall* cognominatur.'

On the middle of the last page but one is the following inscription: 'Dominus *Ricardus Coscumbe* prior de Muchelney est possessor huius libri.' This being in the same hand-

[27] See his Cat. *op. cit.* col. 151.

writing as the other note (though without cypher) shows a probability that both names mean the same person. The handwriting of the book is very different." Under the entry of the Charter occurs the following note: "This is a version of what was called *Carta Christi* or *Testamentum Domini:* it is longer than the copy in No. 61, art. 28: and pretends to grant an indulgence of 26030 years and 11 days." The refrain is: "Wette ye All that bene here," the first line of the Charter.

M. St. John's Coll. Camb. MS. B. 15, fol. 53. The manuscript is described by Dr. M. R. James (*Descriptive Catal. of the MSS. in the Lib. of St. John's Coll. Camb.,* 1913) as: "Vellum and paper . . . several volumes. Cent. XV and XIV. *Ex dono Magistri gent ecclesiae Barbrooke in Essexia Rectoris.*" Under I, presumably designating the first volume of the set, is entered *Carta redemptoris,* beginning: "Weyteth now alle that ben here," etc. From the fact that no date is assigned to this volume, and that Vol. III is definitely assigned to the fourteenth century, I infer that Vol. I is written in a fifteenth century hand. Dr. James refers to this Charter as "printed by Furnivall, E. E. T. S.," but so far as I am aware neither Furnivall nor the E. E. T. S. has printed the *Short Charter.*

§ 4. MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *Long Charter*

A–Text [28]

F. Bod. MS. Rawl. poet. 175, Art. 7, ff. 94^{b}-95^{b}; in columns of about forty-two lines each. Mr. Madan's account

[28] The symbols *F, G, H,* etc., of these MSS., as well as *A, B, C,* etc., used of the MSS. of Version B and of the *Short Charter,* have no significance as regards priority or rank of the MSS., but were applied arbitrarily when the writer first began work upon them. Later, the difficulties involved in altering the symbols to an order more consistent with the results attained, made it seem unwise to change them.

of the manuscript is as follows: " in English, on parchment: written in the middle of the fourteenth century: 11⅛ x 8 in., 1 + 136 leaves, in double columns. Old English religious and moral poems. . . . Owned in 1630 by 'Christofer Fauell': perhaps earlier by 'Raphe Warmoud.' The manuscript came to Rawlinson from the Thoresby collection." [29] The Charter has no title, but just above the first line it bears the legend, *Ihesus est amor meus.*

G. Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 11307, Art. 2, ff. 89-97, written in single columns, each containing about twenty-six or twenty-eight lines. This manuscript is described in the catalogue as a vellum octavo of the XVth century.[30] Sir George Warner assigns it to the first half of the century. The Charter is without title, and is accompanied by a recent transcript, which is unsigned. Four recent transcripts of other articles contained in this manuscript were made by Joseph Haslewood, but the catalogue does not say that he is the author of the transcript of the Charter.

H. Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2346, Art. 16, ff. 51-55, in single columns, of about twenty-eight lines each. The manuscript is a small quarto, written upon parchment, and composed chiefly of theological tracts. Article 16 is " An old English Poem upon the Love of our blessed Savior to Mankind, & his Sufferings for us: wherein, by a Prosopopoeïa, he is made to be the Speaker." [31] Sir George Warner informs me that the article was written in the first half of the fifteenth century.

I. Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 5396, part of Art. 4, ff. 301-305^{b}. written in single columns, varying from twenty-two to twenty-

[29] *Summary Cat. of Western* MSS. III. (Oxford 1895) 321-2.

[30] See *List of Add. to the* MSS. *in the Brit. Mus. in the Year* 1838 (1843) 2-3.

[31] See *Cat. of Harl.* MSS. II. (1808) 662.

six lines in length. Under Art. 4, which the cataloguer describes as "A very curious Book on paper," is an inscription in a modern hand, running thus: "A collection of ancient Poems, with some other memorandums, dated the 34th year of K. Hen. VI. 1456." [32] The same hand gives a summary of the chief contents. Sir George Warner's date for this Charter is late fifteenth century. The title heading the Charter is, *What Chryst hath done for us.* Opposite line 32 is some writing, unintelligible to me, which appears to form two or three words. Again, at the end of the Charter, on page 305[b], are two are three words illegible (at least to me), after which *Explycit* is written in a hand different from that of the poem.

J. Bod. MS. Add. C. 280 (Summary Cat. No. 29572), Art. 4a, ff. 124-5, written in double columns, with about forty lines in each. The manuscript is "on parchment: written in the first half of the fifteenth cent. in England (?): 10½ x 7½ in., 127 leaves: binding, stamped brown leather, early 17th cent. English work." The chief contents of the manuscript is the French text of the *Travels of Sir John Mandeville.* "Fols. 124-127 contain two English poems, added about the middle of the 15th cent.: (1) *Carta domini Nostri Ihesu Cristi* . . . . in 212 lines: (2) on the life of Christ, beg.: 'Alle ȝe mowyn be blythe & glade,' in 358 lines." [33] The title quoted just above is given in the colophon. On fol. 127[b] occurs the following mark of ownership: *Iste liber constat Johanni Heruy de Lyncolnes Inn*; and just below, *signa dede.* The catalogue notes that Hervy was admitted to Lincoln's Inn in 1509.

K. Bod. MS. 89 (Sum. Cat. no. 1886), ff. 45-49, Art. 2, in single columns of about twenty-eight lines each. The

[32] See *Cat. of Harl.* MSS. III. (1808) 264-5.
[33] *Summary Cat. of Western* MSS. V. (Oxford 1905) 646.

poem is headed: *Hic incipit Carta Xpi.* On folio 49, at the bottom of the page and, I should judge, in the scribe's own hand, are the words: *Iste liber constat Domine Thome Seybrygge.* Just at the end of the Charter is the following in a different hand: *Deux pere sapite nous donn pais & plenteocus & sancte abstinence et charite bon vie & bon & fyn et vitam eternam amen.* At the top of fol. 49 a mark of ownership with the date 1431 is written in a third hand, as follows: *In bigit-siem Margarete lān miiijxxxj Harwod.* Bodley's librarian informs me that both the Charter and the only other article contained in Bod. 89 (*Speculum Christiani,* ff. 1-44, in a different hand from the Charter) were written about the year 1400.

L. Magd. Coll. Oxf. MS. St. Peter-in-the-East 18 e. This Charter is a fragment which is written on the back of a secular charter document preserved in the muniment room of Magdalen College, Oxford. The following description of the manuscript and fragment was most kindly furnished me by the Rev. H. A. Wilson, Librarian of Magdalen College, Oxford: "The parchment on which the fragment is written measures about ten inches by five. It contains on the one side a document numbered '18 e' belonging to the series of charters and deeds relating to the parish of St. Peter in the East in Oxford preserved in the muniment room of Magdalen College. The document is a record of a presentment made in the King's Court in Oxford, on the part of the Master and brethren of the Hospital of St. John Baptist, on the Monday after the Exaltation of the Cross, in the 13th year of Henry IV. (*i. e.* on Sept. 19th, 1412), for the abatement of a nuisance caused to them by the Proctors of the University having made a new window in a hall called Blakehall (Black Hall), in the parish of St. Peter in the East, opening on the land of a tenement belonging to the Master and Brethren. The fragment is written across the back of the document [in long double lines] in a small neat hand of

the 15th century, probably of a date nearly the same with that of the document. It begins about an inch from one end of the parchment and about three inches remain blank at the other end after the last line."

V. Bod. MS. Vernon, ff. 317ᵇ-318ᵃ,[34] of the latter part of the fourteenth century. The title of the Charter is *Testamentum Christi.* It has been printed twice: by Horstmann in Herrig's *Archiv,* and by Dr. Furnivall in the *Publications of the Early English Text Society,* as has been already noted.[35]

B–Text

A. Brit. Mus. MS. Cott. Calig. A II., Art. I. (20), f. 77. The manuscript is of the fifteenth century.[36] Article I.[37] is a "collection of old English poems or lays . . . with some prose tracts intermixed," of which no. 20 is entitled *Carta Jhu Xpi.* A description of this manuscript is to be found in Dr. Edith Rickert's edition of *Emare.*[38] Dr. Rickert assigns the manuscript with great probability to the period between the years 1446 and 1460. Cf. also Glauning's ed. of the *Two Nightingale Poems.*[39]

B. Camb. Univ. MS. Ff. 2. 38, Art. 25, ff. 39ᵇ-42ᵇ. "A fŏlio on paper, 247 leaves, double columns of about 40 lines each, handwriting uniform and of the middle of the XVth century: wants some leaves. A collection of Early English

[34] I am indebted to Professor Brown for the number of the folio containing the end of this text.

[35] See p. xv.

[36] See *Cat. Cott.* MSS. (1802) 42.

[37] This was originally MS. Vesp. D 8. See Dr. Rickert, *Emare* (*E. E. T. S.* Ex. Ser. 99) p. ix.

[38] *E. E. T. S.* Ex. Ser. 99 pp. ix-xi.

[39] *E. E. T. S.* Ex. Ser. 80 pp. xi-xiii.

Pieces, chiefly metrical."[40] The Charter is entitled, *þe Chartur of Criste*. For further information regarding the manuscript, see J. O. Halliwell, *Thornton Romances* (London 1844) pp. xxxvi.-xlv.; and McKnight, *Horn*,[41] who describes it as being in the hand of a Southern scribe.

C. Camb. Univ. MS. Ii. 4. 9, Art. 2, ff. 42ᵇ-47ᵃ. A fragment of the Charter only, containing 248 lines. The title in the colophon is *feoffoment Ihc.* The manuscript is "a quarto on paper, containing 197 leaves [written in single columns] with about 28 lines in each page; handwriting of the XVth century.[42]

D. Camb. Univ. MS. Ee. 2. 15, Art. 7, ff. 90ᵃ-94ᵃ. "Running title: *The Chartur,* a poem on the last sufferings of Our Blessed Lord. [The MS. is] a folio, on paper, very much mutilated, 95 leaves [written in single columns] about 35 lines in each page, handwriting of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century."[43] This text is imperfect, lacking the first sixty-eight lines.

E. Camb. Univ. MS. Ii. 3. 26, Art. 2, ff. 235ᵃ-237ᵃ. Title, *Bona Carta gloriose passionis domini nostri ihū xpī.* The Catalogue describes this manuscript as "a folio, on parchment, containing 237 leaves, with 43 lines in each page. Date, the fifteenth century."[44] But the Charter is written in double columns, with about forty-four lines in each, not forty-three lines to the page. At the bottom of folio 236ᵇ is the following record of ownership: "Thys ys George Towkars bowke, lentt to hyme by George Harollde surgentt, the fyrst day of August, *Anno* Domini 1558."

[40] *Cat. of* MSS. *in Camb. Univ. Lib.* II. (Cambridge 1857) 404.
[41] *E. E. T. S.* Ex. Ser. 14 A. p. lv.
[42] *Cat. of* MSS. *in Camb. Univ. Lib.* III. (Camb. 1858) 448.
[43] *Cat. of* MSS. *in Camb. Univ. Lib.* II. (Cambridge, 1857) 31.
[44] *Cat. of* MSS. *in Camb. Univ. Lib.* III. (Cambridge 1858) 429.

X. Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 2382, Art. 8, fol. 111[b]; *Testamentum Christi.* "A paper book in 4to, wherein are contained several Theological Poems, composed by Dan, John Lydgate Monk of Bury, Geffery Chaucer, & others." [45] The Charter has been twice printed from this manuscript: in Herrig's *Archiv* LXXIX. 424-32 by Horstmann, and in the *Minor Poems of the Vernon* MS. Part II. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 117) by Dr. Furnivall.[46]

C-Text

R. Brit. Mus. MS. Royal 17, C XVII. Art. (?), leaf 112[b]-leaf 116[b], of the beginning of the XVth century. This Charter has been printed by Furnivall in *Minor Poems of the Vernon* MS. Part II. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 117).

[45] *Cat. of Harl.* MSS. II. (1808) 675.

[46] Through Mr. Flower, of the Department of MSS. in the British Museum, I learn that MS. Addit. 11809 (2nd half of the 15th cent.) contains, at fol. 34, an Irish prose translation of the Middle English "*Testamentum Christi*," according to the version in MS. Harl. 2382. The Irish text is a close and literal translation of the Middle English verses. It is the only instance, of which Mr. Flower is aware, of an Irish translation of a Middle English poem.

II

HISTORY AND SOURCES

§ 1. The Charter as a Literary Type

It would be natural, perhaps, to suppose that a form which lends itself so readily to imitation as the legal grant or deed of gift, would have been seized upon eagerly by mediæval writers, whose fondness for allegory would presumably have led them to see in the Charter, as in the Last Will and Testament, a convenient medium of symbolic expression.

This, however, does not appear to have been the case. Examples of the type represented by the Charter of Christ, in which the legal form is made to subserve a literary purpose, are exceedingly rare both in England and on the Continent. Indeed, I know of but one example originating in France—Rutebeuf's version of the deed granted to the devil by Theophilus;[1] even this, however, is not a true illustration of the type, since it contains no allegorical element but purports to be an actual charter drawn by Theophilus. It is noteworthy that in the Middle English versions of this legend the deed itself does not appear until the latter part of the fifteenth century.[2]

[1] See Achille Jubinal, *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf* II. (Paris 1839) 104-105.

[2] See for this legend and its various versions, E. Kölbing, *Beiträge z. Vergl. Geschichte der Romantischen Poesie und Prosa des Mittelalters* (Breslau 1876) 1; and *Eng. Stud.* I. 10 ff., XXXII. 1 ff.; the last of these contains the deed, stanzas 45 ff. (ed. W. Heuser). See also Jubinal, *op. cit.* Note B, pp. 260 ff.

The Devil's Charter by Barnabe Barnes, a play acted probably for the first time in 1607, contains a Charter between the Devil and Pope Alexander VI. (ed. R. B. McKerrow, 1904, in *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas* VI.).

In considering examples of the charter type in Middle English we may also leave out of account the spurious grants of land purporting to be executed by Athelstan, Edward the Confessor, etc., since these too are not allegorical, but actual, deeds.[3] Aside from the Charters of Christ I know of only two instances of the allegorical charter in Middle English: the "Charter of Favel to Falsehood," in *Piers Plowman*,[4] and the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost*.[5]

The "Charter of Favel to Falsehood," including the description of its witnesses, sealing, etc., occupies in the A-text but twenty-two lines. Like certain versions of the Charter of Christ, it follows fairly closely the phraseology of a legal instrument:—

Hit witen and witnessen that woneth vppon eorthe,
That I Fauuel, feffe Fals to that mayden Meede.

Then follows a list of their holdings, the "erldam of envye," etc., "to habben and to holden and al heore heyres aftur," on condition that they yield their souls to Satan at the year's end. After the list of witnesses, "Wrong, Pers the pardoner," etc., the deed is sealed "in the date of the deuel, be siht of sir Symoni and notaries signes." In the B- and C-texts, the Charter is introduced by the words *Sciant presentes et futuri*, etc., also found in the Charter of Christ. The C-text drops the formula "to have and to hold," and

[3] These have been printed from time to time in *Notes and Queries*; see for example a grant of King Athelstan, *6th Ser.* XII. 194. A correspondence concerning the age and authenticity of these documents extends through several numbers of the *N. and Q.*, references for which may be obtained from the indices.

Another rhymed Charter occurs in MS. Cott. Julius F. X., Art. 29, f. 154, beginning:

Iche Sancti Edwardi Regis
Have yeoven of my forest the keping, etc.

[4] A-text II. 60-82; B-text II. 74-113; C-text III. 79-115.

[5] Printed by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle* I. 338 ff.

both B- and C-texts spoil the simplicity and clearness of the A version of the deed by introducing amplifications, and by changing from the first person to the third.[6] Aside from the parallelism in structure, the "Charter of Favel" shows no resemblance to either of the others.

In the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost,* on the other hand, we find a closer parallel to the Charter of Christ. In the first place, the subject—God's ceding to man a "lytel preciouse place that is clepid Conscience"—is not unlike the grant of Heaven to man made by Christ in His Charter. Again, between the *Charter of the Abbey* and the *Short Charter* are certain likenesses which, though they may be due to the employment in both of the phraseology of legal instruments, yet possibly indicate some connection between them. In both, the *formulae* of the legal deed are in Latin, followed by an English translation. One or two of these appear also in the *Long Charter,* but they do not occur consistently throughout. Again, the witnesses named in the Abbey Charter—"aungel and man, heuene and erthe, sone and mone and al the sterres"—suggest the list of phenomena cited as witnesses of the Deed in the *Short Charter.* Finally, the phrase "to the chef lord of the fee" in the Abbey Charter finds a parallel in "as to the chief lord of the fee" in the *Short Charter.* We need not, however, attach much significance to this point, since the phrase is evidently a translation of a Latin formula, such as is found, for example, in a charter of the fiftieth year of Henry III: *habenda et tenenda eidem Rogero et heredibus suis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius seu nobis vel aliis imperpetuum.*[7]

Should there be any connection between the *Charter of the Abbey* and the *Short Charter,* it may fairly be assumed that the dependence was on the side of the former, even

[6] B later introduces the first person at line 86.

[7] Hubert Hall, *A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents,* Part I. (Cambridge 1908) 39.

though we cannot prove the *Short Charter* to be earlier than the year 1400.[8]

§ 2. Antiquity of the Charter of Christ

1. The Charter of Christ probably existed in Middle English verse as early as the first quarter of the fourteenth century. The oldest extant manuscript of the *Long Charter* —Rawl. poet. 175—was written about 1350; but between the Rawlinson MS. and the archetype, as I shall undertake to show in Chapter V, no less than three manuscripts intervened, so that the archetype may reasonably be assigned to the early decades of the century.[9] To the fourteenth century belongs also the Latin metrical *Carta Libera,* as we are as-

[8] Horstmann (*Nachträge zu den Legenden* Herrig's *Archiv.* LXXIX. 470) thought that a close relation existed between the *Long Charter,* Versions A and B (he calls it *Testamentum Christi*) and the *Cursor Mundi* Pt. II. (*E. E. T. S.*) 978 ff. But the likeness here seems to me no greater than exists between the *Charter* and other poems on the Passion. He later (1895, *Rich. Rolle.* I. 71) suggests a Complaint in MS. Camb. Univ. Dd. 5. 64, beginning: "Vnkynde man, gif kepe til me and loke what payne I suffer for þe," as furnishing the theme for the *Long Charter* in MS. Vernon. One line in this poem, "With hungyr, thirst, hete & calde," suggests line 48 of the *Long Charter,* "In hongur and þurst, colde and wo"; but the details in the Complaint find so many parallels in other pieces that it would hardly be safe to stress such a resemblance. Cf. for the source of the theme of this poem and others similar to it, note 12, pp. x f., and compare Thien's opinion, *Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen* 82.

Förster (Herrig's *Archiv* CX. 358) suggests that the texts of the *Short Charter* in Ash. 61 and 189 may belong to the class known as "Himmelsbriefe." So far as I can see there appears to be no relation between the "Letters from Heaven" and the Charter of Christ. For these Letters, Förster refers to A. S. Napier, *Contributions to Old Eng. Lit.* I. (*An Old English Homily on the Observance of Sunday*), and R. Priebsch, *John Audelay's Poem on the Observance of Sunday,* both in the *Furnivall Miscellany* 355 ff. and 397 ff., as also to a number of other articles.

[9] Moreover, linguistic tests show that final *e* was sounded when the A-text was composed. For detailed proof of this see Appendix I.

sured by the date of the earlier of the two manuscripts in which it is preserved. The other extant versions of the Charter of Christ contribute no evidence that would point to an earlier origin for the type. None of the manuscripts of the *Short Charter* is earlier than the fifteenth century. The fact that MS. *A* is copied from a gravestone bearing the date 1400, makes it clear that this version was in existence before the close of the fourteenth century, but linguistic tests, so far as they go, suggest a date late in the century.[10] The *Kent Charter* is written on the back of a legal conveyance dated 1395, but we have no means of determining when the poem was added. Linguistic tests show, however, that at the time of its composition final *e* was not pronounced.[11] *Carta Domini* is preserved in a manuscript of the fifteenth century.[12]

§ 3. The Origin of the Charter of Christ

The idea of a charter, drawn up in imitation of a legal document, according to which the Saviour grants to mankind title to the Kingdom of Heaven, may possibly have arisen merely as a variation upon the theme of Christ's Last Will

[10] See pp. 92ff. The *formulæ* employed in this Charter afford but little assistance in determining the date of composition. According to H. Hall, *Formula Book of Eng. Off. Hist. Documents*, Pt. I. (Camb. 1908) 25, the formula *Habendum et tenendum* came into use during the reign of John (1199-1216), and had disappeared by 1499. *Habendum* (without the last two words) is found in one MS. of the *Short Charter* (Sloane 3292). The phrase, *In cujus rei testimonium*, which occurs in six MSS. of the *Short Charter*, was peculiar to the *Letters Patent*, a form which gradually superseded the regular Charter, but was not well established until the close of the minority of Henry III. (Henry declared his majority in 1227). See *Formula Book* 53.

[11] Note the rhyme words: *blod-god* (pl. adj.), 27-28; *god* (pl. adj.) *-stode* (3rd sing.), 29-30; *long* (pl. adj.) *-stong* (3rd sing.), 31-32.

[12] See p. xiii. As regards the Bedford MS. (see p. xvi) and the two texts described at pages xviii-xix, such data as we have is not sufficient to determine the time of composition in the case of any of them.

and Testament, a literary type to which reference has already been made.[1] Christ's Last Will is occasionally mentioned in mediæval works, which describe the Lord as bequeathing upon the Cross various legacies to those He was leaving on earth.[2] Though quite distinct in the legal form upon which it is based, the Charter resembled the Will in being the Saviour's dying gift; thus it will be noted that all the Deeds are dated on the day of the Crucifixion.

Again, a suggestion for the Charter may be found in a passage in the *Epistle to the Hebrews* (IX: 15-18):

Et ideo novi testamenti mediator est; ut morte intercedente, in redemptionem earum prævaricationum, quæ erant sub priori testamento, repromissionem accipiant qui vocati sunt æternæ hereditatis. Ubi enim testamentum est: mors necesse est intercedat testatoris. Testamentum enim in mortuis confirmatum est: alioquin nondum valet, dum vivit qui testatus est. Unde nec primum quidem sine sanguine dedicatum est.

The Greek *διαθήκη*, here rendered by *testamentum*, combines the meaning of "covenant" and "testament"[3] so that the lines just quoted embody a two-fold figure: (1) the Last Will and Testament made by Christ on man's behalf; (2) the new Covenant instituted by Christ through His

[1] Exemplified by Christ's Testament in Dèguileville's *Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine;* cf. p. viii.

[2] See, for example, St. Ambrose, *Comment.* Lib. X *in Euang. Luc.* Cap. XXIII:

Sed ibi pro loco, hic & in cruce non immemor matris, appellat eam, dicens: *ecce filius tuus.* Et Ioanni: *ecce mater tua. Testabatur de cruce Christus, & Testamentum eius signabat Ioannes;* dignus tanto testatore testis. Bonum Testamentum non pecuniae; sed vitae: quod non atramento scribitur; sed Spiritu Dei vivi.

See also *Leg. Aur.* (Nuremberg 1488) *De Passione ihesu Christi* fol. lxvi^{b}; and Abbatus Ernaldus Bonævallis, in a discourse concerning the Seven Words of the Cross, Migne, *Pat. Lat.* CLXXXIX. Col. 1696, etc., etc.

[3] See Thayer's remarks on this passage in his *Grk-Eng. Lexicon of the N. T.*

death on the Cross, whereby man receives the promise of an eternal inheritance.

The word "testamentum" was, of course, familiar to mediæval readers in the sense of "covenant" as well as of "testament." The first interpretation, applied to the passage in question, would represent Christ as the sacrificial victim slain, according to Hebrew custom, to confirm the covenant with mankind.[4] The second interpretation would identify Christ as the testator who grants a charter to man as his dying bequest. But either interpretation may easily have served to suggest the representation of Christ's grant to mankind under the form of a legal deed or charter.

From this figure of the Redemption as a legal deed—tracing its ultimate source very possibly to these sentences in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*—the several extant versions of the Charter of Christ presumably derive. But before proceeding to define more closely the nature of the prototype, or to consider the textual relations of the various extant versions, it will be necessary to note the occurrence, in two of them, of a figure which is directly related to the question of origins.

§ 4. The Metaphor of the Crucified Body as the Charter

In the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter*, but in no other versions, an extended metaphor [5] identifies the Deed with the cru-

[4] Dr. Richard G. Moulton, commenting on the passage in *Hebrews*, explains it by reference to the Hebrew animal-sacrifices, "which were the formal sign of a covenant between parties, the Stroke of Death being the irrevocable seal set on an agreement from which there can be no departing" (see the *Modern Reader's Bible*, 1907, notes on this passage). Cf. also, in this connection, notes and text of the Bible *Containing the Marginal Readings adopted by General Convention* (Thomas Nelson & Sons, New York, 1903), a reference kindly pointed out to me by my father, the Rev. Charles N. Spalding, D. D.

[5] The term allegory seems hardly applicable, as the figure is not developed through narrative but by explanation.

cified Body of Christ. In the *Long Charter* the Deed is written upon the parchment of the Lord's skin with pens which are the scourges used by the Jews. The letters are His wounds, the sealing-wax His blood, etc. The Indenture, or copy left with man, is the Sacrificial Body of the Lord in the Eucharist. The same figure is expressed also in the *Kent Charter:*

> I Jhesus of Nazaren . . .
> Have grantyd, ȝovyn and confermyd is [6]
> Thourch my Charte that the mon se
> My body that heng on the tre,
> A mes housyd fayir and fre
> It is hevene blysse I telle the . . . etc.

Other versions of the Charter, it is true, also have some features which at first sight suggest that the metaphor, though not explicit, was yet implied: in the *Carta Libera* and the *Carta Domini* the document is said to be written in the Lord's blood, while in the *Short Charter* the wound in His side is the seal. Since similar points form a part of the metaphor in the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter,* where Christ's blood is either sealing-wax or seal, it would be natural to suppose that the occurrence of such features in the other Charters implied the same metaphor.

This supposition, however, can hardly be justified. In the first place, the expressions *proprio sanguine conscripsi, hec —sanguine scripta,* and "the wounde in my syde [or "herte"] the sele it is," of the *Carta Domini, Carta Libera* and the *Short Charter* respectively, may be otherwise explained. They may have reference to the shedding of blood necessary to the ratification of the covenant discussed in Section 3, the terms *conscripsi, scripta,* and "sele" being attributable to the fact that in our texts, the covenant is expressed under the figure of a written charter. Again, had

[6] Probably an error for *þis.*

the metaphor of Christ's Body been in the minds of the several authors of these three Charters, it would indeed have been strange that they should not have expressed it definitely. The idea is appropriate and too suggestive for them to have neglected it, especially in the case of the author of the *Carta Libera,* who introduces much detail regarding the sufferings of our Lord at the Crucifixion. Moreover, in the *Carta Libera,* the words *hec mors, homo, fit tua carta* are better explicable as referring to the ratification of a covenant than as intending to suggest the metaphor in question.

Accordingly, this metaphor, in my opinion, was not present in the Charter of Christ, as it was originally conceived, but was introduced later as an adornment. It may possibly have grown out of the phrase in the *Carta Libera* already mentioned: *hec mors, homo, fit tua carta,* or from *hec . . . sanguine scripta,*[7] or from a reference to the wound in Christ's side as a seal in some early text of the *Short Charter,* etc.[8]

On the other hand, the figure may go back to a Scriptural source. In the *Epistle to the Colossians* (II: 13-14) St. Paul speaks of a bond or writ as being nailed to the Cross:

> Et vos cum mortui essetis in delictis, et præputio carnis vestræ, convivificavit cum illo, donans vobis omnia delicta: delens quod adversus nos erat chirographum decreti, quod erat contrarium nobis, et ipsum tulit de medio, *affigens illud cruci:* . . . .

Though the bond here mentioned is not, of course, the same as that with which we are concerned, yet it is a legal document *nailed to the Cross* by Christ in effecting man's redemption from sin. That the Middle Ages played upon

[7] Also in *Carta Libera.*

[8] The fact that the *Long Charter* is an early text (see p. xxxix) and that our only text of *Carta Domini,* for example, occurs in a 15th cent. MS., does not affect the argument here; for there may have been very early texts both of *Carta Domini* and of the other versions in which the metaphor is not found.

this idea is shown in the following passages from the *Legenda Aurea*:[9]

Huiusmodi autem debitum apostolus vocat cirographum quod quidem christus tulit & cruci affixit. De quo cirographo dicit Augustinus. Eua peccatum a diabolo mutuavit. cirographum scripsit. fideiussorem dedit. & vsura posteritati. creuit. Tunc enim a diabolo peccatum mutuauit. quando contra preceptum dei sue praui iussioni vel suggestioni consensit. cirographum scripsit. quando manum ad pomum vetitum porrexit. fideiussionem dedit. quando Adam peccatorum sentire fecit. & sic vsura peccati posteritati creuit.

The same figure is used by Ludolphus de Saxonia, in his *Vita Jesu Christi*,[10] as follows:

Quia enim primus homo ad lignum preuaricationis manus extendendo & pedibus accedendo cyrographum damnationis nostre diabolo confecerat : ideo saluator noster : vt cyrographum illud deleret manibus et pedibus ligno salutifere crucis affigi voluit clauis inuictissime charitatis delens per hac cyrographum decreti quod erat contrarium nobis : et ipsum tulit de medio affigens illud cruci . . . . Jesu qui durissimis clauis cruci affigi voluisti : ac per hoc cyrographum peccatorum nostrorum & mortis eidem cruci affixisti. Confige quaeso timore tuo carnes meas . . . . etc.

From this it would be but a step to connect the *chirographum* with the Body of the Saviour and incorporate the metaphor into the Charter of Christ, a document already purporting to deed to man the inheritance of Heaven.[11]

[9] *De passione ihesu Christi*, ed. Nuremberg 1488, fol. lxix. col. 1.

[10] *Secunda Pars* Cap. LXIII., ed. Lyons 1530, fol. ccclxiii.

[11] In this connection, it should be noted that in the *Short Charter* MS. *A*, the following six lines standing at the beginning just before the *Sciant presentes et futuri* (which is supposedly the beginning of the Charter) speak of a *writ* of man's debt cancelled by Christ:

Jhesus Christ his Charter Great
That bloud and water so did sweat

Though the Pauline text be recognized as furnishing the original suggestion for the figure, it was not necessarily the source upon which these Charters directly depended, for the same metaphorical representation of the Body of Christ, in both simple and elaborated forms, occurs in various treatises at least as early as the fourteenth century and very possibly even earlier. Notwithstanding variations of detail such as might be expected in the development of the Pauline figure —for example, the document is sometimes represented as a book or a bill of pardon as well as a charter—yet the parchment is always Christ's Body. Perhaps the simplest expression of the figure is to be found in the two following citations, wherein, it will be noted, no actual document is mentioned:

oure blessed fadir of heuene spared not his owen sone but suffrede hym to be streyned on the harde cros, moore dispitously & greuously þan euer was schepys skyn streyned on the wal or vp-on þe parchemyn-makeris harowe aȝens þe sonne to drye.[12]

> And had his heart I-wounded sore
> To save mankind forever more
> Christ hath cancelled the writ of man's debt
> And by the great Charter him free hath set.

This allusion to a writ would have led me to include the above passage from *Colossians* among the possible sources of the Charter, discussed in the preceding section, except that it is not probable that these lines formed a part of the original text of the *Short Charter*. They do not occur in MS. *E*, of the early 15th cent., nor in any other MS. except that the last two are found in MS. *B*, of the late 16th cent. Metrically, these lines appear to be of late origin. Moreover, the metre in the last two differs from that of the *Charter* itself. So that, although MS. Sloane 3292 (MS. *A*) purports to contain a version copied from a gravestone in 1400, and hence probably represents a fairly early text of the *Short Charter*, yet as the MS. itself belongs to the 16th cent., these introductory lines may well have been added, or rather, prefixed, to the *Charter* when the MS. was written.

[12] *A meditacion of þe fyue woundes of Ihesu Crist*, printed by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle* II. 440, from Univ. Coll. Oxford MS. 97, of the end of the 14th century. The *Meditacion* has been wrongly attributed

And whene he [Christ] was thus sprede o-brode one þe crosse more straite þan any parchemyne-skyne es sprede one þe harowe, so þat mene myghte tell all þe blyssede bones of his body.[13]

With the exception of these two, all the examples I have noted speak of a document, or book. In *An ABC Poem on the Passion of Christ,* one finds in the introductory stanzas a comparison between Christ's Body on the Cross and the horn book, or ABC, from which children learned to read: [14]

In place as man may se,
Quan a chyld to scole xal set be,
A bok hym is browt,
Naylyd on a brede of tre,
þat men callyt an abece,
Pratylych I-wrout.

Wrout is on þe bok with-oute,
.V. paraffys[15] grete & stoute
Bolyd in rose red;
þat is set with-outyn doute,

to Richard Rolle. It also occurs in MS. Simeon (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 22283) at fol. 61ᵇ, which was transcribed about 1380-1400; see Horstmann, *op. cit.* 436, and the *Cat. of Add.* MSS. *in the Brit. Mus.*

[13] *Bonaventura de mysteriis passionis Iesu Christi,* or *The Privity of the Passion,* meditation for midday; printed by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle* I. 206, from MS. Thornton (c. 1430-40). This is an anonymous work, a "free and abridged translation" of the *Meditationes Vitæ Christi,* Cap. 74-92, formerly ascribed to Bonaventura. The Latin treatise does not contain the figure of the parchment, which is thus an addition by the author of the so-called translation.

[14] MS. *Harl.* 3954, which is dated by Furnivall about 1420. The poem itself may be somewhat earlier. It has been printed in the *Reliq. Antiq.,* and in *Pol. Rel. and Love Poems* (ed. Furnivall *E. E. T. S.*) 271.

[15] "*Paraphe:* The flourish, or peculiar knot, or mark set unto, or after, or instead of, a name in the signing of a Deed, or Letter; and generally, any such graceful setting out of a man's hand, or name in writing; also a subsignature, or signing under,"—Cotgrave. Cf. also Sainte Palaye, *Dict. hist. de l'anc. langage fr.* The word also means "paragraph."

[*No gap in the* MS.]
In tokenyng of cristis ded.

Red letter in parchemyn
Makyth a chyld good & fyn
Lettrys to loke & se.
Be þis bok men may dyuyne
þat cristis body was ful of pyne
þat deyid on rodë tre.

On tre he was don ful blythe
With grete paraffys, þat be wondis .V.
As ȝe mou vnder-stonde.
Loke in hys body, mayde & wyfe,
Qwon hee gun naylys dryue
In fot & in honde.

Hond & fout þer was ful woo,
And þer were lettrys many moo
With-in & with-oute,
With rede wondis & strokis blo
He was dryue fro top to þe too,
Hys fayre body aboute.

About þis, a pece I wyl spede,
þat I myth þis lettrys rede
With-outyn ony dystaunce;
But god þat let hys body sprede
Vp-on þe rode for manys nede,
In heuene vs alle avaunce!

Another very similar example of this figure is found in the *Disputacion between Mary and the Cross,*[16] in the Vernon MS. (c. 1370-80):

[16] *Leg. of the Holy Rood* (ed. Morris *E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 46) 137-8, and *Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.* II. (ed. Furnivall *E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 117) 617-618.

Numbers in Morris ed.		*Numbers in Furnivall ed.*
187	For p*ar*doun schewe þ · be a shrine,	179
	Wiþ nayl · and brede · on bord is smite,	
	Rede lettres · write be lyne,	
	Bluwe · Blake · a-mong men pite :	
	Vr lord I · likne · to þis signe,	
	His bodi · vppon a bord · was bite,	
	In Briht blod · his bodi gan schyne ;	185
	Hou wo him was · may no mon wite,	
	Red vp-on þe Roode ;	
	Vr p*ar*doun brede ; from top too to,	
	Writen hit was · wiþ wonder wo,	
	Wiþ Rede wou*n*des · and strokes blo,	190
199	Vre Book · was bounden in bloode.	
	. . . . .	
204	His Bodi was Book · þe Cros was brede,	196
	Whon crist for vs · þ*er*-on was cleynt :	
	No mon gat p*ar*doun · wiþ no bede,	
	Weor he neuer*e* · so sely a seynt,	
	Til book on bord · was sprad ;	200
	Wiþ sharpe nayles · dunted and driue,	
	Til feet · and hondes · al-to riue ;	
	His herte blod · vre book haþ ȝiue,	
212	To make · vr gostes glad : etc.[17]	

Finally, the metaphor in elaborated form is to be found in the *Carta Celestis Hereditatis,* one of a series of fourteenth century tracts of uncertain authorship entitled collectively *The Poor Caitiff.* The parts of this text which concern

[17] Another mention of the Pardon Charter is found in Chaucer's *ABC Poem:*

> He vouched sauf, tel him, as was his wille,
> Bicome a man, to have our alliaunce,
> And with his precious blood he wroot the bille,
> Up-on the crois, as general acquitaunce,
> To every penitent in ful creaunce; . . . .

This allusion does not occur in his source.

Christ's grant of Heaven to man are printed in Appendix II. of the present study. An examination of the *Carta* will show that it not only contains the features of the figure which appear in the *Disputacion,* etc., but adds also the following (1) the wounds numbered 5475; (2) the pens that wrote the Charter were the nails, spear, and thorns of the crucifixion; (3) the print of the seal was the shape of our Lord upon the Cross; (4) the sentence of the Charter is our belief, and (5) the laces of the Charter are forgiveness of sin and trust in God.[18]

It will be observed that certain of these pieces present striking points of resemblance with the Charters. One of these consists in the identification of Christ's wounds with letters, with which compare the following lines of the *Long Charter:*

> How many lettres thereon ben
> Red and þou may wite and sen
> ffif þousand foure hundred fyfti and ten
> Woundes on me boþe red and wen.

There is also an interesting parallel between the *Carta Celestis Hereditatis,* and the *Long Charter* in that both mention pens and a specific number of wounds. The pens in the *Carta* however, are nails, spear, and thorns, while those in the *Long Charter* are scourges. The number of the wounds in one is 5475 and in the other 5460; but this is not as significant as at first appears, for these numbers,

[18] Two other (15th cent.) references are as follows:

1) His herte blod wrot oure hele,
And Ihesus body þe parchemyn is;
Wiþ trewe loue he prented oure sele,
Þat is heritage of oure blis.
J. Kail, *Twenty-six Pol. and Other Poems* Pt. I. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 124) 78.

2) The passage from the Digby passion play, already quoted in another connection at p. x, note 10.

or others almost equally large, are also features in other mediæval descriptions of the wounded Body of Christ.[19]

Consequently, it is entirely possible that the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter* may have drawn the metaphor of Christ's Body from one or more of these or similar pieces. On the other hand, the reverse might have been the case. As to this one can hardly attempt to decide; the dates of the several texts furnish no clue as they are all of the fourteenth century.

§ 5. A Comparison of the Deed of Gift in the Five Charters

Of the five texts of the Charter of Christ, three consist of the Deed of Gift alone.[1] The other two—*Carta Domini* and the *Long Charter*—contain also additional matter enlarging upon themes suggested by the grant, although it is difficult, particularly in the case of the *Long Charter,* to decide just how much of the poem the author intended to include within the instrument itself.[2] Since the points of resemblance between the Charters are confined to the Deed itself, we may exclude for the present the discussion of this additional material (except such portions as may serve to explain details in the instrument proper) and may proceed to compare the several Charters with respect to the forms of the Deed contained in them.

[19] See, for example, the 4600 wounds mentioned in the *Lamentatio Sancte Marie* (ed. Frölich, Leipzig 1902) 71. v. 197.

[1] The term "Deed" is used here and elsewhere to designate the instrument itself, whereas "Charter" sometimes refers to the Deed and sometimes to the piece containing it.

[2] As illustration, observe the occurrence of the words "*Consummatum est*, this charter is done," v. 187 (A-text), long after the Deed itself (vv. 99-134) is presumably at an end. Again, at line 155 the Jews are mentioned as witnesses of the Crowning of Christ with thorns; later on, at line 169, the formula "*Hijs Testibus* Matthew and John, Luke," etc., is introduced, but seems to refer not to the witnessing of the Deed, but to the witnessing of the offer of drink to the Lord.

At the outset one perceives that *Carta Domini,* the only Latin prose Charter, possesses marked characteristics which distinguish it from all the others. In tone it is learned and ecclesiastical,[3] showing a fondness for abstract terms as contrasted with the concrete style of the rest. For example, *Carta Domini* differs from all the others in not citing as witnesses of the Deed concrete incidents of the crucifixion or the names of persons who were present—as John, the Blessed Virgin, or the Evangelists—but reads: *Sigillum que mee diuinitatis apposui cum testimonio patris et spiritus. Nam hij tres testimonia dant in celo* — *an evi*dent adaptation of 1 John v:7: *Quoniam tres sunt, qui testimonium dant in cœlo: Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus.* In view of the divergent character of *Carta Domini* it hardly seems necessary to include it among the other four texts in the tabular comparison which follows, though its omission is not intended to imply that it differs from them in the essential features of the Deed.

Coming now to examine the details of the Deed as it appears in the other four texts of the Charter, we may best indicate their mutual relations by arranging in parallel columns the features which they have in common.[4]

[3] This Charter gives most evidence of having been written by a theologian. It will be remembered that it occurs in a book of sermons; see p. xiii.

[4] In this table brackets indicate that the matter enclosed has been transferred from the order of its occurrence in the Charter.

Carta Libera	Short Charter	Kent Charter	Long Charter
	Writ of man's debt cancelled, and man set free (only in MSS. *A* and *B*).		
1. *Sciant presentes atque futuri* quod	*Sciant* (and *nouverint*) Wot ye now all that	Knowyn all men . . . that are & schulen ben, that	*Sciant presentes & futuri* wite ye þat are and shal betyde that
uir ego ihesus bethlem . . . natus, Ierusalem Iesus, crucifixus, ludificatus	I suffered death for love of you, upon the cross, while I was man on earth alive		I (born in Bethlehem . . .) made a seizin, when I was born, to thee, man, with my Father's will and love. I confirm it with my present charter.
2. *Dando concessi* cunctis . . . Regnum celeste, si semper uiuant honeste	*Dedi et concessi* I have made a grant—heaven's bliss—to all repentant.	I have granted Heaven bliss, confirmed through my charter (my body housed fair & free in the mass).	I have granted (thee) to live with me in Realm of Heaven's bliss. [My skin was the parchment on which the Deed was written].
[In caluarie summo sunt hec data, etc. See 8, below].		Between East and West, North and South, it is well known to those dwelling here.	[The Charter was sealed on Calvary between 2 thieves, that East and West, on high hill, I may judge both good and ill. *Quia neque ab oriente, neque ab occidente.*]

CARTA LIBERA	SHORT CHARTER	KENT CHARTER	LONG CHARTER
3.	*Habendum* as long as I am Heaven's King.	*To havyn and heldyn* that sweet place, heritable and in fee.	*To have and to holden* without miss—free—with all the appurtenances.
4. Nec quicquam cupio *reddi* nisi cordis amorem . . . pro feodo cor *redde* tuum mihi gratum. Taliter ecce modo tibi trado meum laceratum (h e a r t). Inspice, deuote, ostendo pro te que quanta sunt mea pena. Hic sunt transfossa caro, uene, etc. [nec ab inde recessi (*i. e.* from my Deed) . . . Aut si quando . . . faciant . . . grauamen, non ita delebor; si peniteant miserebor].	*Redendo* True love to God. Charity to one's neighbor. "Keep I no more for all my smart but true Love, man, of thy heart, and that thou be in charity," etc.	For the service of the chief lord of the fee, to keep from sin.	I ask no more but that thou be kind & remember my love deeds; that thou pay as rent the four-leaved grass of shrift, repentance, abandoning of sin, fear of God; which four=a True-Love . . . [Do not delay this rent. You may find it through the year. I will not forsake my deed, and if you fail, you shall have mercy.]
5. Omnia sunt nuda . . . probra, sputa, flagella que plura, crux, claui, spine . . . lancea, passio dura. Et sique pacior uideantur non satis arta, post hec en morior, hec mors, homo, fit tua carta. Nemo potest iure priuare quin ista tenebunt, en quot secure *warantizare* ualebunt.	*Warrantizatio* If my deed—i. e., saving man—is disputed, I would do it again.	*In Warrantyze* I, Jesus, & my heirs bind ourselves to Christian men forever.	

CARTA LIBERA	SHORT CHARTER	KENT CHARTER	LONG CHARTER
6. *Testibus hiis* factis tenebris . . . velo . . . petris . . .terremotu . . . testante Johanneque matre, ac aliis multis cum sacro neupmate patre.	*Hijs Testibus* The day darkening The Sun withdrawing light The earth quaking The stones breaking The vail rending Men rising from the dead The Virgin mother The Apostle St. John Others many that were there.	*These am the wytnesses trewe and god* garland of thorns scourges nails spear stoppe of eysil & gall The cry "Eli-Eli!" my bloody tears my bonds my pains other things	(The crowning with thorns) witnessed by the "Jewes alle," who said "Hail be thou," etc. (The giving of the eysil and gall) *Hijs Testibus* Matthew and John, Luke, Mark and many a one, and especially my "Moder Swete."
7. *In cuius rei testimonium* requiei vt stet tranquillum propriu cor pono sigillum. . . . sunt hec . . . sanguine scripta. [The following occurs only in the 15th cent. text: sanguine tamen puro cartam, frater, tibi scripsi, et pro securo proprium cor penditur ipsi, amen].	*In cuius rei testimonium*, I hang my own seal, & for more surety the wound in my { heart / side } is the seal. Cor charte appensum rosei vice cerne sigilli, etc. (only in late MSS. *B, C, D*)	*In wytnesse of thys thing* my side was opened for sealing, & I have set the seal of my heart's blood.	The ink for the Charter was the blood from the crown of thorns. [The five seals were wrought of steel and iron. They are—Father and Son, God and man, the Conception by the Holy Ghost.] Sealing wax = blood sought at Christ's heart.
8. In caluarie summo sunt hec data gratis . . . die quo iam morior valeatis.	*Datum apud Hierusalem* at Calvary, the first day of the great mercy.	Given and granted on Calvary, on that hill, Friday before the Passover in yr. of my reign 30 winter & 30 half year.	[*Consummatum est* this Charter is done.] [Date *implied* would be Good Friday, etc.]
9.	Legend on strap of seal—*factum est cor meum tanquam cera liques*[*cens*] Psal. 22 (13?). (Only in MSS. *C* and *D*).		The sealing wax was sought at my heart's root; *Factum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens in medio ventris mei.*

An examination of this table, and of the text of *Carta Domini,* shows that all the Deeds have in common:

(a) the legal form of a charter (including *formulæ* clauses, such as *Reddendo, Hija Testibus,* etc.), which is followed, however, in greater or less detail;

(b) the grant of Heaven to man (in *Carta Domini,* the grant is not expressed as such, but is clearly implied by the whole context of the Charter;

(c) the day of the crucifixion as the date of sealing or bestowal of the Deed.

It is probable, therefore, that these features belonged to the prototype of the extant texts.

It will be observed further, that *Carta Libera,* the *Long Charter,* and the *Short Charter,* besides particular resemblances of one with another, all contain in the *Reddendo* clause, the requirement of love or "true love" to God. Accordingly it will be well to note in detail the special relationship of these texts to one another.

First, however, it should be said that *Carta Libera,* though containing numerous popular features which ally it more closely with the other Deeds, yet is the only text clearly showing points of agreement with *Carta Domini,* exclusive of those already mentioned as belonging to all the Deeds. These points are: (a) the occurrence, at the end of its long list of witnesses, of the words *cum sacro neupmate patre,*[5] which seem to mean that the Father and the Spirit were also witnesses to the Deed; (b) the statement that the Deed was written in Christ's blood.[6] Thus *Carta Libera* may perhaps represent a state of transition from one type of Charter to

[5] The sense seems to require a connective between *neupmate* and *patre* though the metre forbids. Note a similar omission of connectives in line 19.

[6] In the *Long Charter,* however, the ink was the blood which flowed from the wounds made by the crown of thorns.

another. Its closest resemblance, however, is to the *Short Charter,* with which it has in common several points not to be found in the other Deeds:

(a) the phenomena of darkness, earthquake, etc., the Virgin Mary and St. John, as witnesses;

(b) Christ's own heart attached to the Deed for more security;

(c) Likenesses between the expression *et sique patior videantur non satis arta, post hec en morior,* of *Carta Libera,* and the following lines of the *Short Charter:*

> If anyone should say now
> That I have not died for man's prow,
> Rather than man should be forlorn,
> Yet would I eft be all to torn.

These resemblances might seem sufficiently striking to suggest that the *Short Charter* was translated directly from *Carta Libera,*[1] with such omissions as the author saw fit to make; but to this theory there are two objections. One is that the *Short Charter,* by connecting the wound in Christ's side or heart with the seal, resembles the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter;* and the other is that we should hardly expect so brief and concise a text as the *Short Charter* to derive from a source as detailed and complex in portions as *Carta Libera.* On the whole, therefore, I am inclined to regard the *Short Charter* as originating from an older and simpler Deed—either the text from which *Carta Libera* itself derived, or another farther back in the line of its descent.

Let us next examine the *Long Charter.* This version appears at first sight to be most closely related to *Kent Charter* by virtue of the fact that these two alone contain

[1] A reversal of this relationship, though possible, is too improbable to be seriously considered.

the metaphor identifying the Saviour's Crucified Body with the Deed. This resemblance, however, must be regarded with caution. This figure, as has already been shown,[8] was common in the literature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; it may, therefore, have been introduced independently into each charter from one of these extraneous sources. Two other resemblances of the *Long Charter* with *Kent Charter* are:

(a) the mention (in 2) of East and West—a slight and probably wholly accidental parallelism.[9] The context does not justify our assuming relationship from this likeness.

(b) the seal of one and sealing wax of the other identified with Christ's blood flowing from the wound in His heart or side.

It is possible that this last feature, joined to the common possession of the metaphor, may indicate that the *Long Charter* and *Kent Charter* were specially related. But on the other hand, the *Short Charter* also connected the wound in Christ's side with the seal, and it bears no other likeness to *Kent Charter*. But this resemblance in the three versions may, it seems to me, be accounted for most naturally by supposing either cross influence, or influence from some outside allusion such as those mentioned in Section 4. Early in the fourteenth century we find such expressions as the following, in a poem of Phillipps MS. 8336 (fol. 204 ^{b}) [10] by William Herebert, a Franciscan who flourished about 1330:

[8] See pp. xlvi ff.

[9] The *Long Charter* here evidently intends a reference to *Psal.* LXXIV. 7: *Quia neque ab oriente, neque ab occidente, neque a desertis montibus.*

[10] Ed. Thos. Wright, *Reliq. Antiq.* II. 227. Cf. note on Herebert, *Ibid.* I. 86 ff.

IV

Soethye he my robe tok
Also ich finde in bok,
He ys to me y-bounde;
And helpe he wole, ich wot,
Vor love the chartre wrot,
And the enke orn of his wounde.

and it is likely that the feature of the seal varied in its details in other works also.

The *Long Charter* also resembles *Carta Libera* and the *Short Charter* [11] in recording as witnesses the Virgin and St. John, but adds also the other three Evangelists while lacking the phenomena of darkness, earthquake, etc., which appear in both the other texts. It has, beside, two features in common with *Carta Libera* alone:

(a) Christ's promise of mercy to the repentant;
(b) the description of the place of crucifixion by the adjective "high."

Moreover, in addition to these points of resemblance, there is further evidence that this Deed traces its descent from some text related to *Carta Libera,*[12] and that is the treatment

[11] In MSS. *C* and *D* of the *Short Charter*, there are two additional points of resemblance with the *Long Charter:* the legend *factum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens in medio ventris mei*, and the four Evangelists—named, however, at the end of the document as *Notarii Publici*, and not as witnesses, such as they appear to be in the *Long Charter*. However, as these features do not occur in the earlier MSS. of the *Short Charter*, they are not of much significance in determining its relation to the *Long Charter*.

Moreover, by its addition of *kindness* to the rent of love to God in the *Reddendo* clause, the *Long Charter* might be regarded as resembling the *Short Charter*. Since, however, the *Short Charter* expresses this idea as loving "thy neighbor as I do thee," the likeness between the two Deeds does not appear to be very striking, and is more simply explained as coincidence. Love to God and to one's neighbor would naturally be associated in the mind of any Christian writer.

[12] I do not here include *Carta Domini;* because, though it, too, as

it accords to the matter of the sealing. It contains not one seal but five, the nails and spear of the crucifixion, to wit, Father and Son, God and Man, and the Conception by the Holy Ghost. This, however, is not very clear, and I suspect that we have here an indication that the author of the *Long Charter* was adapting the Trinity, in an earlier version, to suit his metaphor of Christ's Body and the Deed. For both *Carta Domini* and *Carta Libera* contain, in this connection, references to the Trinity. In *Carta Domini* we seem to have something near the primary form: *Sigillumque me divinitatis apposui cum testimonio patris et spiritus. Nam hii tres testimonia dant in celo,* etc. In *Carta Libera,* the corresponding passage runs: *pono sigillum,* and then, after enumerating other witnesses, *aliis multis cum sacro neupmate patre.* If now we assume that the words "God and man," in the *Long Charter,* are in apposition with "Son," we shall have, not five seals (representing the nails in the metaphor) but three: the Father, the Son, and the Conception by the Holy Ghost, corresponding apparently to the Persons of the Trinity, mentioned as seal and witnesses in the other two texts.

One other point remains to be noted in connection with *Kent Charter.* This text corresponds in some of its witnesses with the list of Christ's sufferings in the *Warranty* clause of *Carta Libera.* This again, it appears to me, must be an instance of outside or cross influence. *Kent Charter* is too unlike any of the other Deeds for us to be able to assert near relationship with them unless we accept its points of resemblance with the *Long Charter* as proof of such relation. Another stanza of Herebert's poem quoted above, will illustrate the difficulty of attempting to define exact relationships among these texts:

well as *Carta Libera,* is concerned with the following discussion, it has no other points of resemblance with the *Long Charter.*

v

Ich take to wytnessinge
The spere and the crounynge,
The nailes and the rode,
That he that ys so cunde,
Thys ever haveth in munde
That bouhte ous wyth hys blode.

Here a number of the so-called witnesses are identical with those mentioned both in *Kent Charter* and in the *Warranty* clause of *Carta Libera,* and it is impossible to say which list gave rise to the others, or whether there is not also a fourth to which these may later be traced. In general, we may regard *Kent Charter* as a fairly late text,[13] hence as particularly likely to contain material from various sources rather than from one version alone.

In conclusion, it may be said that the foregoing attempt at defining relationships among the Charters is by no means intended to be regarded as establishing facts, but merely as indicating probabilities. The evidence is too meagre, and the possibilities of outside elements contributing to the features of any Charter is too great a factor, to admit of certainty in the results attained.

§ 6. The Additional Material in *Carta Domini* and the *Long Charter.*

Besides the Deed itself, as has previously been stated, *Carta Domini* and the *Long Charter* contain additional material developing themes suggested by the instrument. In these additions, however, neither text resembles the other even remotely. This portion of *Carta Domini* consists of a didactic discourse,[1] for which I know of no source. But for

[13] Cf. p. xl.
[1] See p. xiii.

the additional passages in the *Long Charter,* which are narrative and descriptive in nature, it is evident that the author drew upon the stock material of his time. From the Complaints of Christ he may have borrowed details of the crucifixion scene, though these may quite as well have come from the numerous Passion poems, homilies, etc., of the period. It is impossible to trace the sources of this material, for it was the common fund of the age. One often finds details of this theme expressed in the same words by men who probably never saw each other's work. Such an expression as: "From His foot unto His head, He was nought else but all blood-red," for example, was picked up and handed about from one work to another, until it might almost be said to form part of the mediæval vocabulary, where Christ was the subject. The five wounds, the five red roses, Christ's coat-armour, etc., are subjects that received treatment at many different hands. The figure of the *Indenture,* however, as the Sacramental Body of Christ, I have been able to find nowhere except in the *Long Charter.* It may be that this conception belongs to the author of the A-text.

The expansion of the theme which one finds in the B- and C-texts consists likewise of material which was common to the religious literature of the time, though it is, for the most part, more didactic in character than that of the A-text. Examples are, the seven sacraments, the grief of the Virgin, Christ's admonition to man, etc. In one or two cases we can trace the source, as where the C-text incorporates material from the *Lamentacio Sancte Marie.*[2] But usually these expansions are so general in character that it is impossible to assign them to any particular source.

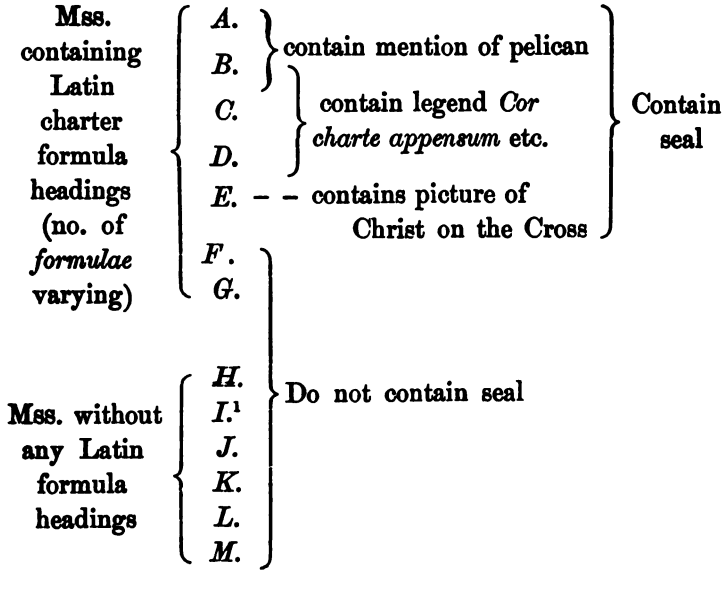
[2] See pp. lxxxix ff.

III

THE INTER-RELATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *SHORT CHARTER*

The text of the *Short Charter* comprises, in most of the manuscripts, but thirty-four lines, and the variants, except in a single case, do not offer an opportunity of distinguishing true from spurious readings. It is therefore impossible, with so little available material, to determine the inter-relations of the manuscripts, or to decide which manuscript best represents the text of the original. The following discussion makes no pretense of solving either of these problems; its purpose is merely to present such evidence as exists. This consists: (a) in the external features common to two or more texts; (b) in common readings.

The agreements of the manuscripts in external features may be exhibited in tabular form as follows:



[1] Ms. *I* has at the end of its text a shield with a heart inscribed

It is reasonable to suppose that the original of the *Short Charter*, being written in imitation of a legal document, would have either an actual seal, or a representation of one. Moreover, the seal is found in *A*, our oldest datable manuscript, as also in *E*, a manuscript of the early fifteenth century. Hence we may conclude that the seal was an original feature of the *Short Charter*, and that MSS. *F*, *G*, *H*, *J*, *K*, *L*, and *M* depart from the original text in not retaining it. Now, the seals of *A*, *B*, and *E* are alike in containing the drawing of a wounded heart with five drops of blood.[2] Since the drawing (or seal) of MS. *I* is unique in form,[3] and is attached at the wrong place after the words, "my own seal thereto I hang," it may have been added by the scribe of this manuscript, and not derived from the manuscript he was copying.

Thus we have two groups: *ABCDE*, and *FGHIJKLM*. This group-division is corroborated by the readings in line 14 where *FGHIJLM* agree in the reading, *as I do thee*, against *BCDE* (*A* unique). *K*, however, agrees here with *BCDE*; but this is probably merely a coincidence, since *K* does not resemble these manuscripts in other particulars, and is a very free version of the text.

The group *FGHIJKLM* is itself divided into *FG* and *HIJKLM*; because a) *HIJKLM* have none of the Latin *formulæ*, which, since they exist in MSS. *A* and *E*, and were regular parts of the legal form, were probably in the original

upon it. This may have been intended to represent a seal, as it follows the words "my own seal thereto I hang." See discussion below.

[2] What was on the seals of *C* and *D*, I do not know, as my rotographs of these MSS. show only the upper portion of the strap from which the seal depended.

[3] Whether the drawings called "suns" in the catalogue description of this MS. are really suns, or whether, as I believe, they are intended to represent wounds, does not materially affect the point under discussion, since at any rate the drawing in MS. *I* differs essentially from that in MSS. *A*, *B*, and *E*. See the description of MS. *I*, pp. xxv f.

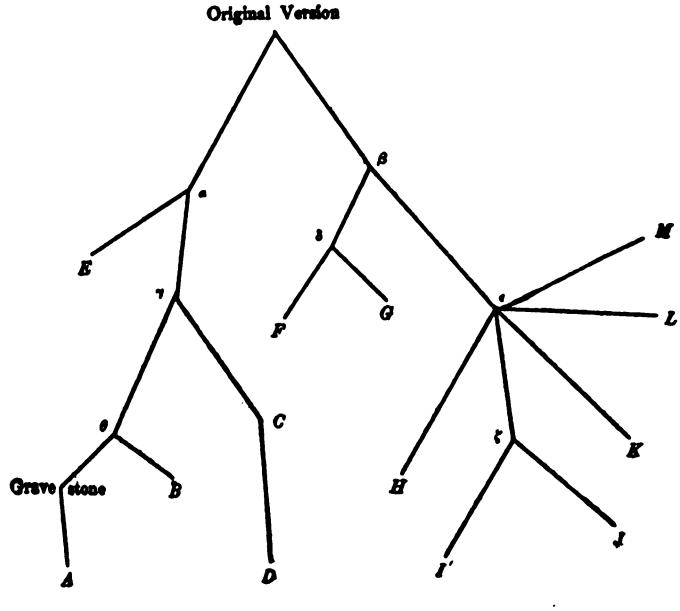
of the *Short Charter;* b) *IJKLM* agree in *al to brake,* 24, against *ABCDEF, in sonder brake* (MSS. *G* and *H* being unique here, do not affect the grouping); c) *FG* agree in the readings of 23, 25, 29, and 30; in this last, *G* appears to be an emendation of the false reading of their common original. The reading of *L* in 30 is evidently a scribal blunder.

Within the subgroup *HIJKLM* a special relationship is disclosed between *I* and *J,* which agree in line 1 against *HKLM.* Since no other manuscript of the *Short Charter* —either within or outside the subgroup—confirms *IJ* in this line it is certain that the reading of these two MSS. is to be regarded as a perversion.

Turning now to *ABCDE,* we find that MSS. *A* and *B* agree in containing, at the base of the Charter, an allusion to a pelican, which is not found in *C, D,* and *E.* Moreover, *A* and *B* have in common two lines, *e* and *f,* which do not occur in the other manuscripts. *A* and *B,* then, are specially related. MSS. *B, C,* and *D* have in common the legend *cor charte appensum* etc., which does not occur in *A* probably because it was not reproduced upon the gravestone from which *A* was copied. *E* has none of these features. Whether they all belonged originally to the Charter, or to Group *ABCDE,* it is impossible to say, since none of them is an intrinsic feature of the Charter like the seal, which, as we should expect, is common to all this group.

MS. *D* is clearly a copy of MS. *C.* They read exactly alike, except for very slight differences in spelling and capitalization, and the omission in *D* of the verse of Scripture which is written on the strap of the seal in *C.*

The results of the above classification, may be expressed in the following diagram:


Original Version
α
β
γ
δ
ε
ζ
E
F
G
M
L
K
H
J
I
C
Greve stone
B
A
D

IV

MUTUAL RELATIONS OF VERSIONS A, B, AND C, OF THE *LONG CHARTER*

It is my aim, in this chapter, to show that the A-text represents the oldest extant form of the *Long Charter;* that the B-text is a redaction made from A, with additions; and that the C-text represents a still later version derived from B.

In the succeeding discussion, the three versions will be referred to as A, B, and C, respectively. It will be necessary to have before us the following tables: the first, giving all the lines of A, with those corresponding in B and C; the second, giving lines which B has in common with C. The numbers in smaller type represent, in the first table, lines in B not occurring in A; in the second table, lines in C not occurring in B.

LINE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN A AND THE OTHER VERSIONS

A	B	C
	1-24	
1-4	25-28	31-34
5-8	29-32	45-48
9-10	33-34	63-64
	35-36	
11-16	37-42	67-72
17-18	42a-42b	
19-20	45-46	77-78
21-22	43-44	75-76
	47-48	
23-24	49-50	81-82
	51-52	
25-28	53-56	89-92
	57-58	
29-34	61-66	99-104
35		
36	67 (altered)	
	68-70	
37-38	59-60	95-96
39-40		

LINE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN B AND C

B	C
1-16	1-16
16a-16d	17-20
17-20	21-24
20a-20b	25-26
21-24	27-30
25-28	31-34
28a-28d	35-38
	39-40
28e-28h	41-44
29-32	45-48
	49-62
33-42	63-72
42a-42b	
	73-74
43-52	75-84
	85-88
53-60	89-96
	97-98
61-74	99-112
	113-116

LINE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN A AND THE OTHER VERSIONS

A	B	C
41	72	110
42	71	109
43-44	73-74	111-112
	75-80	
45-46	81-82	
	83-84	
47-51	85-89	123-126 and 128
	90	
52	91	129
	92	
53-54	93-94	131; 0
	95-96	
55-56	97-98	
	99-102	
57-59	103-105	
	106	
60	107	
	108-120	
61-62	121-122	
	123-126	
63-64	127-128	167-168
	129-130	
65-66	131-132	171-172
	133-134	
67-68	135-136	177-178
69		
70	141	183
71-72	137-138	179-180
	139	
73-74	140	182
	142-150	
75-77	151-153	207-208; 0
	154-156	
78		
79-98	157-176	239-252 and 257-262
	177-178	
99-109	179-189	last line only, 265
110-112	190-192	last two only, 270-269
113-116	193-196	last line only, 268
	197-198	
117-128	199-210	273-284
	211-212	
129-130		
131-140	213-222	287-290; 523-26; 529-30
	223-224	
141-150	225-234	527-28; 533-540
	235-236	
151-162	237-248	543-554
163-164	250-249	(partially)
165	251	315
	252	
166		

LINE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN B AND C

B	C
75-76	117-118
77-78	
79-80	119-120
81-82	
83-93	121-131
	132-138
94-122	
123-124	139-140
	141-154
125-126	155-156
	157-166
127-132	167-172
	173-174
133-146	175-188
	189-190
147-148	191-192
	193-204
149-152	205-208
152a-152b	209-210
	211-212
152c-152d	213-214
	215-216
153-154	235-236
	237-238
155-156	217-218
	219-224
157-170	239-252
	253-256
171-178	257-264
179-188	
189	265
	266-267
190	
191-192	270-269
193-195	
196	268
197-216	271-290
	291-314
217-220	523-526
221-224	529-532
225-226	527-528
227-250	533-556
251-264	315-328
	329-330
265-270	331-336
	337-350
271-272	225-226
	227-234
273	362
274	361
275-276	363-364
277-278	359-360

LINE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN A AND THE OTHER VERSIONS

A	B	C
167	254	318
	255-264	
168	253	317
169-172	265-268	331-334
	269-276	
173-174	293-294	371-372
	295-296	
175-178	297-300	455-458
	301-320	
179-180	283-284 [1]	365-366
	285-288	
181-182	289-290	351-352
	291-292	
183-184	277-278	359-360
	279-282	
185-186	321-322	481-482
	323-338	
187-198	339-350	501; 0; 511-520
199-202		
203-208	351-356	521-22; 557-559; 0
	357-360	
209-214	361-366	. . . last two, 569-570
	367-372	
215-228	373-386	577-590
	387-392	
229		
230	(suggests 411)	(suggests 615)
231	393	597
	394-410	
232-233		
	412	
234	(suggests 413-14)	(suggests 617-618)

LINE CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN B AND C

B	C
279-282	355-358
283-288	365-370
289-292	351-354
293-294	371-372
	373-452
295-316	453-474
	475-476
317-332	477-492
	493-494
333-339	495-501
	502-510
340	
341-352	511-522
353-355	557-559
	560-564
356	
357-360	565-568
361-364	
365-390	569-594
	595-596
391-392	
393-404	597-608
405-406	611-612
407-408	609-610
409-414	613-618

An examination of these line correspondences brings out at once the following facts:

I. A and B have thirty-five lines in common which are not found in C.

II. B and C have one hundred and seventy-five lines [2] in common which are not found in A.

III. A and C have no lines in common which are not also found in B.

[1] Both by position and rhyme.

[2] Because they are peculiar to MS. *E* alone of the B-text, I have not here included lines 16a-16d, 28a-28h, and 152a-152d. If they be included, the number becomes 191.

It is evident, therefore, that B occupies an intermediate position with respect to A and C. Hence we are obliged to accept one of the following alternatives: either (1) A derives from B; in which case either C is derived from B, or else B is derived from C; or (2) B derives from A; in which case it follows that C must be derived from B.[1]

The second of these alternatives, as I hope to show, is the true one. The evidence offered has to do both with structure and wording, but as these in some cases cannot be considered separately, I have made no attempt at a rigid distinction between the two classes of evidence. In the succeeding discussion, unless otherwise stated, any manuscript of either version will serve to exemplify the facts pointed out, except, of course, where part of the text of a manuscript is missing. Passages quoted have, where possible, been taken from MS. *G* in Version A and from MS. *C* in Version B, for these manuscripts furnish, on the whole, the best texts of their respective versions.[2]

It seems advisable to begin with a passage, which even without other evidence, would, in my opinion, be sufficient to show that B was taken from A. Let us compare A 171-86 with B 267-322.

First, if we suppose that A was derived from B, we must assume that the author of A skipped about in the text before him and picked out his lines (omitting some entirely) in this sequence: B 267-8; 293-4; 297-300; 283-4; 289-90; 277-8; 321-2. While the altered order of these lines might be explained on the hypothesis that A wished to restore the order of events according to the Scriptural narrative, by placing the committal of the Virgin to St. John before the

[1] Thien, in his discussion of the Planctus contained in Version C (*Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen* 82) remarks in passing: "Die genannte längste Version [C-text] . . . , ebenso wie die zweitlängste [B-text] . . . aus der kürzesten [A-text] . . . entwickelt, is die einzige der Versionen die eine Mkl. enthält." He had evidently not noted the intermediate relation in which B stands to the other two texts.

[2] See Chapter v. §§ 1 and 2.

cry *Pater lamazabatani;*[3] yet this is not a satisfactory solution, since A was not following the Scriptural account very closely.[4] Secondly, upon this hypothesis it would be hard to account for his having altered the subject matter of B 300-20.

On the other hand, if we suppose that B was taken from A, the situation, as it seems to me, admits of a plausible explanation. First, we should have the following sequence: A 171-2; 8 new lines; 183-4; 4 new lines; 179-80; 4 new lines; 181-2; 2 new lines; 173-4; 2 new lines; 175-8; 20 new lines; 185-6. This would mean simply that A 179-84 were taken out of their place and inserted between 172 and 173, but that the last two were put in first. B's reasons for these changes can, I think, be explained, if one notes that in the A-text the passage we are considering covers only sixteen lines, all of which probably lay before the reviser on a single page, so that his alterations would not involve the turning of leaves or reading ahead for any considerable distance.[5] B, being, as we suppose, a reviser and not a mere copyist, read lines 171-186 of A before writing them down. On coming to A 177-80, he did not grasp their meaning:

177 þ^{t} I ne hadde wher to take
My testament wherof to make

[3] The committal preceded the offer of vinegar (St. John xix. 26-30); but as the cry *Eli! Eli! lama sabachthani* was the immediate occasion for the offering of drink to Christ (St. Matth. xxvii. 46-48; St. Mark xv. 34-36), the committal must also have preceded the cry.

[4] Note that the Gospels recording both the offer of vinegar and gall to the Lord and the cry *Eli! Eli! lama sabachthani* (Sts. Matthew and Mark), place the drink immediately after the cry, which is followed directly by the death of Christ; whereas in A (and B) the incident of the vinegar and gall precedes not only the cry but also the committal of the Virgin—a double departure from Scriptural order.

[5] Had A, on the contrary, been the reviser, he would have been dealing with a block of text comprising fifty-four lines, and his task would have been much more complicated.

But of my moder lef and dere
Sho stod by me wiþ reuful chere [MS. *G*].

Line 178 probably suggested to him—as it did to me on first reading—that Christ had nothing out of which to make His Testament, just as He had no parchment for His Charter, lines 51-54.[6] The next line, then, would have no connection, and would, to him, mean simply, "But to speak of my mother, she stood by me sorrowing," etc. Hence the lines mentioning the Testament would look like an isolated couplet, meaning little, and separating two groups relating to the Virgin. But lines 175-77:

So bare I was of wordles god
Whan I sholde deye vpon þe rod
þat I ne hadde wher to take [MS. *G*]

did suggest to B the text of Scripture in which Christ declares that He has nowhere to lay His head.[7] This inspired

[6] Ne miȝhte I fynde no parchemyn
ffor to laston wel and fyn
But as loue bad me do
Myn owne skyn y ȝaf þer to [MS. *G*].

[7] St. Matthew VIII. 20: "And Jesus saith unto him, 'The foxes have holes, and the birds of the heaven have nests; but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head.'" [*Rev. Vers.*] Cf. also St. Luke IX. 58. The treatment of this theme was sufficiently common in the Middle Ages. See for example, *Disputation between Mary and the Cross, Minor Poems of the Vernon* MS. II. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 117) 614.

ffoules fourmen heor nestes in þe eyr;
Wolues, in den, reste þei fynde;
But Godes sone, in heuene heir,
His hed nou leoneþ on þornes tynde.

Cf. also Thien, *Ueber die Eng. Marienklagen* (Kiel 1906) 51, who refers in this connection to the *Lamentacio sancti Bernardi*, ed. Kribel, *Eng. Stud.* VIII. 85 ff., lines 369-72:

allas, þin heuid þei al torace,
þat was wonid lye to my brest:
I saw it honge & had no space,
Wher on it myghte ouht han reste.

B's imagination to enlarge upon the theme, and so, after prefixing two lines (295-6):

> Vpon my shuldur y layde myn hedde
> Whan y þrowȝ faste vnto my deed [B-text, MS. *A*].

by way of introduction, he changed A 178 to what we find in B 300:

> Reste to myne hedde wher-of to make

and followed it by a long digression upon Christ's having no rest in the world, etc.

But this passage of B's, if written directly after A 178, would separate widely the two dealing with the Virgin Mary. So B moved the second of these (179-184) back to connect it with the first (A 171-2), making interpolations to develop the theme of the Virgin's grief, a subject which appealed strongly to the mediæval imagination.[8] In this shifting, however, A 183-4 is put first instead of last where it would ordinarily occur:

> In cnowlychyng I made a cry
> Pater lamaȝabatany

B making slight alterations. Curiously enough, A and B both connect the cry *Pater lamaȝabatany* with our Lord's distress at seeing His mother's suffering. It is possible, therefore, that B thought that the proper place for it was, not after the committal of the Virgin to St. John, but immediately connected with lines 171-2 and the new lines B 269-76, which deal very vividly with the Virgin's grief. Or, another reason for the position B gives to 183-4 might be

[8] The fact that B chose to connect A 173-174 with what followed it rather than with what preceded it, is confirmation of this explanation, as it shows that B did not grasp the meaning of the passage. He doubtless took *testament* 178 as referring to *chartre* 173, regarding 173-178 as a unit. Perhaps his copy of the Charter was entitled *Testament of Christ*, as is the version of MS. Vernon.

that he wished to make Christ's cry of dereliction the cause of the swooning of Mary, which he introduces as a new feature in the lines following, B 279-80.

It is interesting to note the changes B made in A 179-80:

> But of my moder lef and dere
> Sho stod by me *with* rueful chere [MS. *G*].

We recognize them in B 283-4, altered in such a manner as to incorporate them into the description of the scene with less abruptness:

> When y layde my hedde her & þer
> My moþer changed all he[r] chere [MS. *A*].

Moreover, a very significant alteration is that made by B in A 171-2, which read as follows:

> And namely my moder swete
> *ffor she* lufte neu*er* teres lete [MS. *G*].

ffor she is in B altered to the relative pronoun *that,* because B wished to begin the interpolated passage immediately following, with *for,* thus:

> 267 And namely my modyr swete
> *That* for me blody teres gan lete
> 269 *ffor* þer she stode unþer þe rode [B-text, MS. *A*]

The next passage we shall examine is A 29-42 = B 57-72. The most important differences between the two texts here involve: A 41-42 = B 72-71; A 37-38 = B 59-60; and B 69-70, which has no equivalent in A. Now B 71-72, as it stands, does not make good sense:

> 69 Nowe derworthly soule herke to me
> And A newe Ioye I xal telle the
> *To make A chartore of feffement*
> 72 *heuen And erth schuld be present* [MS. *C*].

Line 71 cannot be connected with line 70, and if connected with 72 the statement means nothing. Heaven and earth were not to make the Charter! But upon examining these lines in A, we find that they are joined in thought and syntax to lines 38-40:

37 Wel he fond hym geyned noȝt
38 *another help was in my þouȝt*
more syker þe to make
40 a geyn þi fo ful of wrake
Heuene and erthe in present
42 To make a chartre of feffement [MS. *G*],

and mean clearly enough: "another help was in my mind to make thee more safe against thy foes, namely, heaven and earth *being present,* to make a charter of feoffment." The infinitive *to make* of line 42 is in apposition with *another help* of line 38. But line 38 (= B 60) is very different in the B-text, and stands in an altogether different place, i. e., immediately before the description of the temptation, B 61 (= A 29):

59 wroth he was it helpe hyme noughte
for to helpe the was All my thoughte
he tempted me to gret foly
in pride covetyse And gloteny [B-text, MS. *C*].

This leaves the infinitive *to make,* B 71 (A 42), without logical connection. B did not see, or else he forgot, the intimate relation existing between lines 38 and 42 of A. So, wanting some material to make the transition between A 28 and 29 less abrupt—

27 Tho belsabub and sathanas
28 *Hadde gret wounder whi it was*
He fondes me wiþ felonye
39 Wiþ pryde couetise and glotenye [MS. *G*]—

he moved A 37-38 up to this point, altering as he desired, and prefixed two explanatory lines of his own, B 57-58:

55 þat cursed fende Sathanas
hade gret wondyr why it was
57 *wher for I schulde so meche loue the*
58 *that so unkend hast be to me*
59 wroth he was it helpe hym nought*e*, [B-text, MS. *C*].

This assuredly improves the poem, for in A 28 the expression *whi it was* is by no means clear, and the transition from line 28 to 29 is very abrupt.

But this left A 39-42 in bad shape. The author of B now cut out 39-40 which had lost their connection, and substituted two lines of his own (69-70) perhaps for the purpose of emphasizing the Charter, which is here mentioned for the first time:

69 *Nowe derworthly soule herke to me*
70 *And A newe Ioye I xal telle the*

This, of course, left A 41-42 absolutely stranded. So B altered them to read as follows:

71 To make A chartor*e* of feffemente
72 heuen*e* And erth schuld be p*r*esente [MS. *C*].

Had the author of B been the author of the poem, he would have changed these lines to read:

heuen*e* And erth in presente
I make A chartor*e* of feffemente

thus making good sense, as well as fulfilling the grammatical requirements. But B shows in his treatment of this passage that he has not grasped A's idea at all, and feebly alters the lines so that, though remaining grammatically correct, they are logically without point. We have, therefore, in B 57-72, clear evidence, not only that B was derived from A, but also

that the author of the B-text was not the author of the Charter, but a reviser only.[9]

The construction of B 93-102 also throws light upon the question of the priority of A over B:

89 P*ar*chement to fynde wyst I non*e*
90 To make thy chartur*e* A*ȝen*e thy fon*e*
þat wolde last wyth oute ende
herkenyth now to my word*es* hende
93 but as trewe loue bad me do
Myn owne sky*n*ne I toke þ*er*e-to
95 And whanne I hade ȝit so I-do
96 wul fewe frend*es* had I þo
97 to get me frendes I ȝaf gret mede
as doth þe por*e* þat hath gret nede
But for to ȝeue the I hade no mor*e*
100 for thi sowle þat was for-lorne
þanne myselfe for to ȝeue the
102 þat for the dyed vppon A tre [MS. *C*].

Lines 95-96 are very poor, and their logical connection with the preceding is not of the clearest. Moreover, the next six lines do not progress but leave us at the end just where we started. The thought of the passage might be expressed in this way: "as true love bade me, I gave my own skin for the Charter. When I had done this, I had but few friends; to get some I gave good reward, but had nothing to give but myself." Now I believe that this awkwardness arose from B's not grasping A's thought. The parallel passage in A runs as follows:

51 ne myȝte I fynde no p*ar*chemyn
52 ffor to laston wel and fyn

[9] The changes made by B in A 33-36 (B 65-68) are unimportant, and doubtless arose from B's effort to improve upon A. Certainly A 34 is a very poor line.

But as loue bad me do
Myn owne skyn y ȝaf þer-to
To gete me frendes I ȝaf god mede
So doþ þe pore þat haþ gret nede [MS. *G*].

It will be noted that A lacks B 95-96 and 99-102. A's meaning is undoubtedly this: "as love bade me do, I took my own skin for the parchment—to obtain followers (disciples) I gave good reward indeed; just as the poor man does in his need"; *i. e.* the reward, or payment, is the giving of His skin to be used as parchment, or, in other words, the death upon the Cross.[10] Since B missed the connection between A 54 and 55, he thought the reference to *friends* must be made clear; and having in mind those who forsook the Lord in the time of His need, he inserted lines 95-6 to lead up in some degree to line 97. In the same way, supposing the word *mede,* in A 55, to be without connection, he wrote 99-102 to show what the *mede* was. Had B been the original, and A the revised text, it would be difficult to find a satisfactory explanation for A's omission of B 95-6 while retaining 97-98, and for his omission of 99-102.

The next passage indicating that B was derived from A is found in A 165-71 = B 251-67. A reads:

Aþorst I was ful sore y-swonke
þe beuerache moste neþes ben þronke
A loue drynk I asked of þe
Eysel and galle þou ȝeue me

[10] As I understand A in this passage, there is no intention of leading up to the Last Supper in the expression: *I ȝaf good mede.* The Last Supper was not instituted by Christ in any sense as a bribe, or price of men, nor could it have been so conceived by A. Indeed, both A and B describe the Eucharist as being intended "Boþe frend and fo to maky glade" (MS. *G*, line 58) with heavenly food, and to be the memorial of the Passion of Christ. Hence the colon punctuation after line 56 of the Vernon text, in the *E. E. T. S.* edition, p. 641, is wrong, and a period should be substituted.

Hijs testibus Matheus and Iohan
Luk Mark and many on
And namely my moder swete [MS. *G*].

Now in B 251-4, corresponding to A 165-8, we see preparations leading to the introduction of a new idea, namely, a figurative drink asked of man by the Lord, which is developed in B 255-264 (not occurring in A). Beginning at 251, B reads:

Well drye y was & thursted sore
But of such drynk myȝth y no more
ffor aysell & galle þey ȝef to me
But on drynke aske y of the
That þou be louyng towards þy fone
oþer drynke of þe aske y non
ȝef þou me loue haue þis yn mynde
To þy enemyes be þou ryght kynde
Ensaumpull þou myȝt take her of me
For loue of my fone y honge on tre
But my fadyr y pray the
Vpon my enemyes þat þou haue pyte
And as y do do þou to þyne
Then saued shalt þou be fro helle pyne
He ben wytnesses mo þen on
Marke Mathew luke & jon [MS. *A*].

The preparatory lines 251-4 are, however, not skilfully managed by B. Line 252, which has no equivalent in A, is wellnigh meaningless. But the significant feature about them lies in the inversion of the order of lines 253-4 from that in the A-text. It is clear that B made this change because "on drynke aske y of þe" leads up better to his interpolated passage 255 ff.[11] Moreover, it will be noticed that

[11] One might question whence B could have drawn this peculiar conception of "on drynke . . . that þu be louyng," etc. Perhaps the word *loue-drynke* in A suggested it to him; or possibly he copied *loue* as *one* because he missed seeing the *l* (it may have been illegible or widely separated from the rest of the word).

the interpolation of B 255-264 leaves lines 265-266 (A 169-170) without connection with what precedes them. In A, however, these two lines are in very close connection with the preceding lines. The differences that appear in this passage between the two texts are easily explainable on the hypothesis that B is derived from A, but are much less easily intelligible on the contrary hypothesis.

Again in B, lines 197-8, which have no equivalent in A, suggest a misunderstanding of the A-text on the part of the author of B:

197 In my blysful Ioye euyr to dwelle
198 for þe rent þat I xal þe telle [MS. *C*].

Now B inserts these lines between 116 and 117 of the following passage of the A-text, separating a direct object from its verbs, and implying a false relation:

107 Wiþ my chartre here in *pr*esent [B 187]
I make heron confirmament [B 188]
That I haue *gr*anted and yȝeue [B 189]
110 To þe mankynde *with* me to leue [B 190]
In my revme of heuon blisse
To haue & to holden *with*-outen mysse
In a condicioun ȝif *þ*ou be kynde
And my loue dedes haue in mynde
115 ffre *to haue and fre to holde* [B 195]
116 Wiþ al þe *pur*tinaunce to wolde [B 196]
117 *Min erytage* þat is so fre [B 199]
ffor homage ne for fewte [B 200]
No more wole I aske of þe [B 201]
120 But a four leued gras to ȝelde me [MS. *G*].

Min erytage, line 117, is the direct object of *to haue* and *to holde* in 115. But in B this object is separated by lines 197-8 from its verbs. Moreover, line 198 introduces the mention of rent, which does not belong at this point, but after 199 (= A above, line 118). I believe this interpola-

tion shows that B did not observe the connection of *min erytage* with *to have* and *to holde* of A 115, but supposed their object to be the same as that of *to have & to holden with-outen mysse* in A 112, namely, *a feffement,* which B substituted for the *confirmament* of A 108.[12]

There are, in A, certain words and expressions that B seems to have altered either because they were archaic or unfamiliar to him, or because they were not sufficiently refined for his taste. These alterations I offer as evidence corroborative of what it has been my effort to prove in the preceding paragraphs of this chapter:

A 29: fondes or fondede = B 61: tempted
A 67: kirtel = B 135: mantylle
A 74: forletton = B 140: forsoken
A 75: piht, or plyȝt = B 151: bound [13]
A 76: tawed = B 152: beten
A 83: neb, nesse [14] = B 161: face
A 84: Of iewes spotel on me to stynke [15] = B 162: thornes in my hed gan to synke
A 136: stiþ = B 218: smyth
A 141: þurledon, or thrilledon = B 225: smyten
A 165: yswonke or swongen = B 251: dry
A 209: bykeþe or bykeye = B 361: a wel faire thyng
A 212: þar þe not drede = B 364: to kepe þe euer
A 218: camelyn = B 376: satyn

[12] In Dr. Furnivall's print of Harl. 2382, *Minor Poems of the Vernon* MS. II. (*E. E. T. S.*) the punctuation of a period after line 198, and of a comma after line 199, is therefore incorrect. There should be a period after 199, and a comma after 198.

[13] But see line 247, where the word is retained.

[14] MS. *H* of the A-text reads *face*, but, as will be seen later (Chapter v. § 4), the readings of this MS. do not affect those of the B-text.

[15] MSS. *I* and *K* read differently; but see Chapter v. § 4.

Now since a revised text is necessarily of a later date than its original, there is a strong probability that it will show modernization, rather than archaization, of vocabulary; hence the above list certainly contributes to the argument that A is the original text. It adds force also to the argument that B was not written by A.

This concludes the evidence I have to offer regarding the dependence of B upon A.[16]

It has already been demonstrated (pp. lxix f.) that if B is derived from A, C is derived from B. If, therefore, my argument for the derivation of B from A is sound, it follows as a necessary consequence that C was derived from B. Nevertheless, it seems desirable to consider certain passages of B and C, both because they show that the differences between the two texts confirm the validity of my argument, and

[16] The two following lists of classified interpolations made in the poem by B may prove of interest as showing B's contribution to the material he found. Interpolations discussed in the preceding pages are not recorded here, since they have already been accounted for.

I. To explain A-text.	II. To add interesting subject matter.	
B 47-48	B 1-24	177-78
69-70	35-36	211-12
129-30	51-52	223-24
133-34	75-80	249-50
235-36	83-84	323-38
357-60	108-20	367-72
	123-26	387-92
	142-50	394-410
	154-56	412.

With B, lines 20a-22 (C 25-28), compare the *Lamentacio Sancte Marie* of the Vernon MS. (*E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 98, p. 298) lines 15-16:

> þe mon þat con, and teche nille,
> He mai haue drede of godes wreche.

B's additions in 154-156, and 177-178, present difficulties, in that the former is a clumsy repetition of 151-152, and the latter does not join with what follows.

because they enable us to perceive the method which the author of C pursued.

The Charter, in the A- and B-texts, makes a grant of eternal life in heaven to man. See B 37-39 and 188 ff.:

> Myne erytage that is so fre
> In þi myschefe I ȝaf the
> And whanne þat solynge A ȝeue þe solde, etc.
> . . . . . .
> I make to mannes Soule a feffemente
> þat I haue *gra*ntyd and I-ȝeue
> To mankend wyth me for to be
> In my kindome of hevene blysse [MS. *C*],

which correspond to A 11-13, and 108-111. Now C has changed *myn heritage* to *my blysful body,* lines 67 ff., thus substituting the Sacrament as Christ's gift to man. This is in accord with C's emphasis upon the Sacrament all through (for instance, note his interpolations of 132-138; 141-154; and 560-64). But when referring, in a later passage, to the grant made by Christ's Charter, C does not seem to remember his previous alteration of *heritage* to *my blysful body,* and retains the idea of heaven in the grant, as in B. See C 264-72:

> 264 þat I ih*esus* of nazaret, godys sone,
> 265 as gyn for eu*er*, & grauntyd,
> and be þis chart*er* co*n*fermed,
> how mans sawle in my joy to belde,
> Wyt all þe purtenance þ*er* w*ith* to welde,
> to af & to hald w*ith*-outy[n] mysse
> 270 þat for-sayd place, heuen blysse,
> In þat blyssed place for eu*er* to dwell,
> 272 for þe rent þat I sall þe tell . . . .

Next, let us consider an important alteration made by C in the following lines from B:

353 *Oon endentur y lafte with þe*
Wher-of þou shalt euer sykur be
355 In þe prest*us* honde my flessh & blode
That for þe was honged on þe rode [MS. *A*].

This reads, in C:

557 *þis charter þus celyd, lewe I wyll þe,*
Ware-by þu sall ay sekyr be:
My precyus body, of þe preste hande
560 for to resaywe, þu sall vnderstand

On comparing C 557 with B 353, we see that C has changed the word *indenture* of B (as of A) to *charter*. Here C misses the whole point of the allegory as conceived by A and followed by B. For note that in A and B, the *Charter* is that Body of Christ which was sacrificed on the Cross, written upon by scourges, sealed with nails and spear, and completed by the death of Him who grants it— "Consummatum est, þis Charter is doon"; but the Body of Christ as present in the Eucharist is the *Indenture:*

B 353 Oon endentur y lafte with þe
. . . . . .
In þe prest*us* honde my flessh & blode, etc.

They are, of course, in a sense, identical, yet different. Now originally, an *indenture* was a deed having two copies. "Both copies," says the *New English Dictionary,* "were written on one piece of parchment or paper, and then cut asunder in a serrated or sinuous line, so that when brought together again at any time, the two edges exactly tallied, and showed that they were parts of one and the same original document: hence the expression 'pair of indentures.'" This, it is stated, is the earliest sense of the word.[17] The

[17] Among examples given by the *New English Dictionary* is the following from Barbour's *Bruce* I. 513: "The barownys thus accordyt

conception of A, followed by B, is, then, that the Sacramental Body of Christ is the copy of the ascended Crucified Body, given to man by the Saviour as surety of the heavenly heritage. The Charter is to be read at the last day (cf. A 228, B 386); but those who have received the Sacramental Body, the "Indenture," may claim their inheritance when they will.[18]

This ingenious and poetical application of the figure in the word *indenture* was overlooked by the author of C, who, as has been pointed out, alters the word to *charter;* so that what was, in A and B, a consistent and effective allegory becomes, in C, a confused mixture of two ill-defined ideas—namely, the literal and sacramental aspects of Christ's Body; indeed, I should say of three ideas, since the heritage of heaven is also involved (in 269-73, previously quoted).

Another passage radically altered by C, requires notice, namely, B 267-292 (= C 333-364). The significant changes are chiefly in the order of the lines, and usually we can trace C's reason for the shiftings. The first point to be noticed is the insertion of B 289-292 after B 270 and the interpolation of C following it, and of B 279-82 immediately after these—changes resulting in C 351-358.

This shifting is easy to understand. B 289-92 is as follows:

289 When seyn john y her betoke
290 She caste on me a drwly loke

ar, And that Ilk nycht writyn war Thair Endenturis, and aythis maid." Another is from Caxton's *Chron. Eng.* CXLVIII. 127: "The fourme of accord . . . was in a payr of Endentures and they put her seales vnto that one part, and they that comen in the kynges name putt her seales to that other part of endentures."

[18] Cf. A 232: Come and cleyme whan þou wilt
þe blisse þat loste oure former frende,

and lines in B expressing a similar idea.

As þou; y hadde her all forsake
292 And to an-oþer sone her be take
[MS. *A*; = C 351-54]

and B 270 (referring to the Virgin):

She sawe my body all on blode [= C 336]

After this line C has inserted an interpolation of fourteen lines, developing the scene at the Cross more fully, the last five of which record the committal of St. Mary to St. John:

345 & I sayd to my mod*er* Mary:
'Be-halde þi sone þ*at* standes þe by!'
To Ion I spak wordes of pyte:
'Behald þi mod*er*! hy tak hyr*e* to þe'
Wen I spak þis wordes þer*e*,
350 Vntyll hyr*e* hart þai went ful ner*e*;

At this point, therefore, it would naturally occur to C that the above lines in B, 289-92 relating to the same subject, fit better here than where they stand in B. C accordingly inserts them at the end of his interpolation, consequently after B 270.

He next inserts B 279-282 directly after this altered passage, as follows:

C 355 Onone scho fell downe *in* swouny*nge*
Be-for þe cros at my dyyng*e*
þe paynes þ*at* I hade were full sore,
C 358 Bot for my mod*er* þai were wel more!

Thus C evidently preferred that the swooning of the Virgin should result from her being resigned to St. John rather than from Christ's cry, *Ely lamazabatany*. To be delivered over to the care of another would bring home to a mother's heart more bitterly than anything else would, what her son's death was to mean to her. The touch is a natural one, and shows keen insight into human nature. Accordingly, C is

obliged also to change the position of B 277-8, containing Christ's cry, to a point where it shall no longer be the occasion of the Virgin's swooning. Hence, after aptly changing "for sorow of her y made a cry" (B 277) to "for soro of my passioun I made a cry," C inserts B 277-8 before B 273-6, where they produce the effect of merely intensifying the Virgin's misery. This is, however, not a very satisfactory change, since it leaves Christ's cry still in the midst of a description of the Virgin's grief, instead of, as in A and the Scriptures, immediately preceding Christ's death, its proper place:

C 357	þe paynes þat I hade were full sore	[= B 281]
358	Bot for my moder þai were wel more!	[= B 282]
359	ffor soro of my passion I made a cry,	[= B 277]
360	A cryed 'hely lama zabatany.'	[= B 278]
	it semed my moder hart wald brek;	[= B 274]
	No worde to me þer myght scho speke;	[= B 273]
	No wonder was if hyre were wo,	[= B 275]
364	Wen sho saw me dyght so!, etc.	[= B 276]

Observe too, that whereas B had shifted the episode of the committal of the Virgin to a point *after* the Saviour's last cry, C has returned to the original sequence in placing the cry after the committal, as in A. To do this it was not necessary that he should have seen a copy of A, for in all the Gospels the "Eli! Eli! lama-sabachthani," or another cry not expressed in words, is uttered by Christ just before His death; and C may very well have noticed the false sequence in B, and have sought to alter it.

An omission from C of twenty-nine lines of B (94-122) requires special notice. The gap is just after C 131. Instead of the B lines that would naturally stand here, the C-text gives seven new lines, and then goes on to B 123-4. These B lines, however, were not dropped by C himself, but by the loss of a leaf from some manuscript between C's own text and our copy, MS. Royal 17. C XVII., as an exami-

nation of C's seven new lines and their relation to the preceding text will show:

127	to mak þi charter of þi wele-fare,	[B 90]
	parchemen to fynde wyst I neuer ware	[B 89]
	þat wyld last to þe warldes end;—	[B 91]
130	harkyns now to my wordes hend!—	[B 92]
	Bot as trew loue bad me do,	[B 93]
	loke ware I af not done so.	
	þis wordys are þus to vnderfong	
	to lewed men in ynglys tong:	
135	*My flesche trewly es mans fode,*	
	þat for mans saule dyed on þe rode;	
	My blode for sothe þi drynk sal be,	
	þat for þe was sched on þe rod[e] tre.	
	Wo-so it resaywes wyt-outyn mys,	[B 123]
140	Sawyd sal he be, & cum to blys;	[B 124]

It will be evident that the seven new lines do not connect with what goes before, but contain an explanation of the Sacrament. Now since a reference to the Last Supper, followed by an explanation of the Sacrament, is exactly what we have in the missing text of B, it is probable that C's seven new lines were merely an addition made by him to B 94-122, which were present in the copy from which he was transcribing, and that *þis wordys,* of C 133, refer to *Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem,* which occur in the missing passage.[19] That this rubric stood, in the original text

[19] Cf. with this, *De Lamentacione Sancte Marie* ed. Fröhlich (Leipzig 1902) 84:

526	To cry full loud my son bigan:
	'Hely, hely,' his crying was,
	'Lamazabatany' efter þan.
	þir wordes er als men may se
530	In ynglysch tong to vnderstand:
	'Fader, whi forsoke þou me,
	þus to be bon in bytter band?'

[from MS. Rawl. poet. 175.]

Here "þir wordes" refer to the Hebrew which needed translation.

of B, directly after line 122,[20] is probable, because the marginal rubric of MS. *E, memoriam fecit* [*mir*]*abilium suo-r*[*um*], is written opposite lines 121-22, thus seeming to agree with A, which records the rubric *Hoc facite* etc., at this point.[21] Moreover, upon the hypothesis that the missing text of B was retained by C, we can explain C 167, "Bot or þat I fra þe borde rase"; should we assume the contrary hypothesis this line would be left unrelated to what goes before.[22] A word must be said regarding line 132 in C. This line, as it seems to me, must have been composed by the scribe who was using as copy the manuscript from which the leaf was lost, in order to complete the couplet with line 131. It is manifestly not a part of the C addition which follows it.

Beginning with line 379, C has inserted a long passage extending to 453, and comprising chiefly a lament of the Virgin Mary, which is addressed to Mary Magdalene. The scene is at the Cross. The Magdalene's replies are in much the same vein as the Virgin's lamentation. Hermann Thien, in his dissertation, *Ueber die Englischen Marienklagen* (Kiel 1906) has already pointed out that the author of the Charter has used for this passage material from a Planctus in the form of a dialogue between the Virgin and St. Bernard, in which the Virgin narrates the sufferings and death of Jesus, and bewails her bereavement. This Planctus has been several times printed: by G. Kribel in 1885,[23] by Horstmann in 1892,[24] and by W. Fröhlich in 1902.[25] Thien,

[20] And not, as in MSS. *ABDX*, after line 112, where they were probably moved by the scribe of the source of these MSS. to fit with the preceding couplet, 111-112.

[21] Ms. *F*, of the A-text, shifts the rubric to the point between lines 60 and 61, but this has no significance for the present discussion.

[22] Lines 165-66 of C certainly do not furnish a sufficient antecedent for line 167, but rather show a necessarily ineffectual effort of the scribe to connect what he perceived to be unrelated material.

[23] *Eng. Stud.* VIII. 85 ff.

[24] *E. E. T. S.* Orig. Ser. 98, Part I. 297-328.

[25] *De lamentacione Sancte Marie* (Leipzig 1902).

pp. 83-4, prints such passages from the Planctus and Charter as show the influence of the one upon the other, namely:

Planctus	Charter
357, 359	379-80
385, 390	387-88
393-96 [26]	389-92 [26]
397-400	395-98
419-22	401-04
423-28	405-11
429, 431	413-14

and he calls attention to line 413 ff. of the Charter, which, as he says, " beweisen dass der Dichter des Testaments [i. e. of the Charter] aus der Lamentacio abschrieb, und dass nicht etwa das umgekehrte Verhältnis vorliegt." I quote the lines in question:

413 I prayd hyre go were hyre wylles was
(i. e. the Virgin prayed Magdalene)
414 for I wold byde & syng alas!
415 I prayd þam go weder þai wolde,
ffor a song of murnyng syng I sulde.
Scho sette hyre down be syde þe rode,
& lokyd o-pon hyre blody fode:
& als scho stode & lokyd me on,
420 Scho saw my lyfe was nere gon.

[26] I quote this pair of parallels by way of illustration:

	Planctus.	Charter.	
393	Maudeleyn seide: 'I con no red,	Magdalan sayd: 'I can no noþer rede,	389
	Care haþ smiten myn herte sore;	I knele & se my lorde nere dede;	
	I stonde, I seo my lord neih ded,	ffull grete soro has smytyn my harte,	
396	And þi wepyng greueþ me more.'	And ȝit me rewes þi payn[e]s smarte.'	392

Alas, alas! gan sho syng;
422 fful fast hyre handis gan scho wryng.

"Diese Verse haben Sinn nur im Munde der Maria, die sie in der Lamentacio auch spricht; der Dichter hat nach Uebernahme der Mkl. Aus Z [i. e. the Planctus] einen Augenblick vergessen, dass nach der Anlage seines Stückes Jesus erzählt und nun fortfahren müsste." Thien is undoubtedly right; cf. lines 417 ff., especially *me* in 419, which of course means Christ.[27]

For the remainder of the Virgin's lament, as it is contained in the Charter, lines 424-34, Thien says that he knows no source. It is quite possible that C himself may be the author of this, and of the conventional description of the effect of the Virgin's grief upon her, which occupies the lines immediately following.[28]

[27] Other correspondences between this Planctus and the Charter have already been pointed out in connection with the B version as well as with C, p. lxxxii, note.

[28] Attention should be called to the misplacement in C of lines 523-556 (= B 217-250). The passage covers the description of the seals of the Charter, and in A and B it follows immediately upon the words of the Deed as read by Christ. In C, however, it occurs directly after the mention of Easter—hence, after the descent into hell and the Resurrection:

521 þe fest was of ioy & blyse
Pasche-day called it ese
þe seles þat þe charter es seled with
524 þai ware made at a smythe; etc.

At first I thought the passage must have been on a loose page in C's original, which had somehow slipped in at the wrong place. But, though this *may* be the explanation, the lines immediately following appear to have been altered from what they were in B in order to unite with it closely, thus making the shifting seem intentional:

C 557 þis charter þus celyd lewe I wyll þe
ware by þu sall ay sekyr be
My precious body, of the preste hande

which compare with the corresponding lines in B (353-55):

one indenture y left to the,
where-of þu shalt euer syker be
In prestys handes my fleshe & blode

If C purposely shifted the position of the description of the sealing, he lost rather than gained, since the proper place for it was after the reading of the Deed, more especially as the Deed was not sealed after the Resurrection but on the Cross:

B 217 Thes selys that it is selyd with [=C 523, etc.]
they were made alle at a Smyth
of gold ne Siluer were thei noght
of Stile and yren were thei wroght
with a spere of Stile myn hert was stonge
222 thurf my syde & thurf my lunge
. . . . . .
225 with yren nayles they smyten me
thurghe fete & handes on þe rode-tre
The selyng-wax was dere y-boght
228 at myn herte-rote it was sought, etc. MS. X.

V

VERACITY AND INTER-RELATIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *LONG CHARTER*

§ 1. The A-Text

A study of the most important variations in the manuscript readings of Version A leads to the following conclusions:

I. That *G* is the best manuscript, having preserved more of the readings of the common original than any other of the extant manuscripts.

II. That there are, in A, two main groups, namely, *G* and *IKFVHJL*, the latter of which is subdivided into *IK* and *FVHJL*, and *FVHJL* again into *FV* and *HJL*.

III. That none of these manuscripts can be shown to be a direct copy of another without the intervention of other copies.

Slight variations in readings have not been considered in the present investigation, since the possibility of chance correspondence in minor details makes it unsafe to base conclusions upon them. Evidence of the veracity of the various manuscripts, considered with reference to the text of the common original, and evidence of manuscript inter-relations, must alike be derived from the presence, in certain manuscripts, of readings which we can ascertain to be spurious. The following lines afford evidence of this character, the decisive lines, containing clear errors, being distinguished by an asterisk from the corroboratory lines, which contain probable errors: 17*, 22*, 79*, 122*, 147*, 149*, 218*, and 12, 57, 76, 83, 84, 90, 206.

We shall take up the decisive readings first in order.

*Line 17**: Correct, *GIK*. Spurious, *FVHJL*. Here the

readings in *FVHJL* make no sense. The reference is not to Christ *and man,* but to Christ alone.

Line 22:* Correct, *GFVIK.* Spurious, *HJL.* As in line 17, this reference should not include man, since Christ alone was received by the Virgin.

Line 79:* Correct, *GFVH* (*JL* lacking).[1] Spurious, *IK.* *Streyned to drye vpon a tre* carries on the figure of parchment introduced at line 51, and contained in line 80, etc. *To dethe* destroys the figure.

Line 122:* It is necessary, in order to avoid confusion, to postpone the discussion of this line until the subgroups of the manuscripts are ascertained, since the decision made in regard to this reading affects the main groups only. See pp. c ff.

Line 147:* Correct, *GFVHJ.* Spurious, *IK.* See the context, especially line 149.

Line 149:* Correct, *GVHJ.* Spurious, *FIK.* The word *fyfþ* refers, of course, to the fifth seal. *Fyrst* is a scribal blunder. Cf. for this line also p. cviii.

Line 218:* Correct, *HJ.* Spurious, *GFVIK.* The original reading must have been as it is in *HJ, white camelyn,* since the reference is evidently to the skin of our Lord's Body. Moreover, three lines down, this *camelyn* is described as being *ypoudred wiþ fyf roses red,* the Five Wounds. Red camelyn scattered over with red roses could hardly have been the picture in the mind of the author. The reading *red camelyn* may possibly have been due to a confusion, in the mind of some scribe, with the scarlet robe which the Jews (according to St. Matthew's Gospel) put upon Christ at the time of the mocking. He may have forgotten for the moment that the figure had reference to Christ's Body. Cf. also for this line pp. xcvii f.

Corroboratory Readings.

[1] As the text of MS. *L* comes to an end with line 62, *L* will not in future be accounted for in references to lines after that point.

Line 12: Correct, *GFVHJL.* Spurious, *IK. IK* has altered the infinitive construction, which, judging from the context, is evidently intended.

Line 57: Correct, *GFVHJL.* Spurious, *IK.* The word *soper* is more natural in a reference to the institution of the Sacrament than *feste,*[2] which is later applied to Easter (197, 203). Here, it is probably a scribal alteration.

Line 76: Correct, probably *GFVH* (*J* lacking). Spurious, *IK. Tugged and tawed,* as the more archaic reading, is likely to have been in the original. Cf. p. lxxxi.

Lines 83, 84: Correct, *GFVH* (*J* lacking). Spurious, *IK.* The alterations here were evidently introduced by the scribe of *IK*'s source in order to refine the language. Moreover, MSS. *G* and *V* use the word *neb,* which is changed in the other manuscripts to the less archaic *neese* and *face.*

Line 90 Correct, *GK* (*I* unique): *red and* { *wan*, *wen*; spurious, *FVH* (*J* lacking): *black and* { *wen* *wan,* (*Wan,* however, in *H* and *K* is not correct, as the rhyme shows). The scribes did not understand the meaning of *wen,* which was an unusual word.[3] The meaning of *wen* I take to be, *beautiful, good to look at;* and *red and wen* here refers to the illumination of the parchment. *Red* is therefore more appropriate, in this connection, than *black.*

Line 206: Correct, *GFVIK.* Spurious, *HJ.* Note the metre.

Now with regard to the veracity of the manuscripts, it is obvious from the above results that *G* is nearest to the origi-

[2] Especially as Maundy Thursday is, in Latin, *Coena Domini.*

[3] Cf. Bradley-Stratmann: *wēne* [O. E. (*or*)-*wāna,* = Goth. (*us*-) *wēna;* O. N. *vænn;* O. H. G. (*ur*-)*wāni*] hopeful, beautiful. The only adjective use of this word quoted by B. S. is in the comparative degree; *Syr Gawayne and the Grene Knight* 945: *wēner þen Wenore.* In Morris's Glossary this word is traced from O. N. *vœn,* O. Dan. *wœn,* and defined "fairer."

nal text, since it records the correct reading in five of the six decisive lines (I am excluding line 122), and in all the seven corroboratory lines, making together twelve out of thirteen cases.[4] The other manuscripts follow in this order:

	Decisive Lines	Corroboratory Lines	Total
V	4	6	10
H	4	5	9
F	3	6	9
J[5]	3	2	5
K	2	2	4
I	2	1	3
L[5]	—	2	2

Next, let us consider the inter-relations of the manuscripts of A.

For purposes of convenience I wish first to show that, of the extant manuscripts,

a) *I* and *K* have an original common to them alone.

b) *H, J,* and *L* have an original common to them alone.

It has been seen that MSS. *I* and *K* agree in the erroneous readings of lines 12, 57, 76, 79*, 83, 84, 147*, against the rest. Other readings which they alone have in common are to be found in lines 1, 15, 28, 30, 45, 49, 73, 100, 121, 124, 135, 158, 162, 163, 193, and 199. Moreover, both manuscripts lack lines 69-72, lines 93-96, and lines 139-40 inclusive. These lines occur in all the others, with the exception of lines 69-72, which are also lacking in MS. *J*. In MS. *J*, however, lines 69-72 are only four in a block of missing text beginning at line 63 and ending with 90; so that there is no significance in the absence of 69-72 from MS. *J*, as far as MSS. *I* and *K* are concerned. Therefore it is clear that MSS. *I* and *K* are derived from an original common to them alone.

[4] From this information it is clear that *G* would be the best MS. upon which to base a critical text of A.

[5] Not a full text.

Neither of these manuscripts is a copy of the other. MS. *K* was not derived from MS. *I*, as is proved by lines 79*, 90, 218*, and 231. MS. *I* was not derived from MS. *K*, for in *K* lines 63-66, and lines 201-202, are lacking; but they occur in *I*, as in *G* and the rest.

MSS. *H*, *J*, and *L* have also a common original to which none of our other manuscripts may be traced. This is established by their agreement in the erroneous readings of lines 20, 22*, and 206, in the latter of which MS. *L* is, of course, lacking, since it contains but sixty-two lines of text. *H*, *J*, and *L* agree against the other manuscripts also in the readings of lines 38, and 50; and *H* and *J* in line 218*, where *L* is lacking. Their agreement in this line is of particular interest, since it represents a correction, made by the scribe of their common original, of an error traceable to the original of all the extant manuscripts; cf. p. xcviii. Besides, in MSS. *H* and *J* occur two lines immediately after line 230, which are not found in any of the other manuscripts.[6]

Neither *H* nor *J* could have been derived from *L*, which is only sixty-two lines in length. *L* was derived neither from *H* nor from *J*, as *H* lacks lines 34-37, and *J* lacks 29-32 and 55-56 inclusive, all of which are to be found in *L*. *H* was not copied from *J*, as *J* lacks 29-32, 55-56, and 63-90, which occur in *H*; and finally, *J* did not come from *H*, since *H* lacks lines 34-37 inclusive, and lines 210 and 212, which *J* contains. All these omitted lines are to be found in *G* and the other manuscripts, as regular parts of the Charter.

Passing now to the other manuscript relations, we have seen by the analysis of lines (pp. xciii ff.) the MSS. *GFVHJ* (*L*) show correct readings against *IK*'s erroneous readings in lines 12, 57, 76, 79*, 83, 84, and 147*. But on examining lines 17* and 90, we find that *FVHJL* in 17* agree in an erroneous reading, while *G* and *IK* are correct, and that in 90 *FVH*(*JL*) are erroneous and again *G* and *IK* are cor-

[6] Namely, 230ª-230ᵇ.

rect.[1] Further, we note that in line 218*, *GFVIK* agree in the erroneous reading, and *HJL* alone are correct. This is more clearly seen if put in the form below:

	Correct		Incorrect
I.	79* *GFVH*(*JL* lacking)	against	*IK*
	147* *GFVHJ*(*L*)	"	*IK*
	12, 57 *GFVHJL*	"	*IK*
	76, 83, 84 *GFVH*(*JL*)	"	*IK*

But

	Correct		Incorrect
II.	17* *GIK*	against	*FVHJL*
	90 *GK* (*I* unique)	"	*FVH*(*JL* lacking)

and

	Correct		Incorrect
III.	218* *HJ*(*L*)	against	*GFVIK*

Hence we see, from II., that *FVHJL* may be traced to a common original from which none of the other manuscripts is derived; and from I., II., and III., that MS. *G* contains no erroneous reading found in one group (either *IK* or *FVHJL*) which does not also occur in the other; for its only erroneous reading appears in line 218, under III., where *IK* and two manuscripts of *FVHJL* are also spurious. The fact that *F* and *V* record this error shows that it occurred in the original of the group *FVHJL*, and therefore that the reading of *HJ*(*L*) is a correction on the part of the scribe of their source. Here, then, we have evidence of the existence of an error in the common original of all the extant manuscripts of the A-text.

[1] Here the scribe of *I* has altered the line so as to give a unique reading, but it does not invalidate the reading of his source, since the correct reading occurs in *K*—i. e. *red* instead of *black*. *Wan* in *K* is incorrect but the error is not significant in this connection.

Hence, up to this point, our evidence points to three main groups: *G; IK;* and *FVHJL,* in the last of which *HJL* forms a sub-group, as has already been shown. This evidence, however, is exclusive of what a consideration of the readings of line 122 may afford. But before dealing with the problem of line 122, it will be advisable to settle the relations of MSS. *F* and *V* to each other and to their source.

Since *F* and *V* belong to the group *FVHJL,* and since *HJL* forms a sub-group within this group, the question remaining to be answered is, are these manuscripts, *F* and *V,* derived independently of each other from the common source of *FVHJL,* or are they grouped together by readings which assign them to a common source exclusively their own, which takes its origin from the source of *FVHJL?* That these two manuscripts do form a subgroup by themselves, is established by the readings of lines 6,[8] 25, 68, 69, and 79*. Lines 68, 69, and 79* by themselves would not be agreements of sufficient significance to prove the existence of the subgroup; but line 25 is strong evidence.

This line introduces another phase of the question, in that its readings point to a Northern original for the MSS. *F* and *V*. The original rhyme was *ydo-fo* (see MSS. *G, H, K* and *L.* Mss. *I* and *J, do-fo*). *F* and *V* have the rhyme { *swa-fa* / *so-fo* —a change which must have been due to a Northern scribe, presumably the scribe of their source, who evidently made the alteration because *do-fa,* the Northern forms, no longer made even an approximate rhyme. But compare with this the rhyme of 123-4, where *V* retains the Southern rhyme, while *F* has altered the line to obtain the Northern *a* to rhyme with *ma:*

> þe thred I will no mare do swa
> þe ferth dred god whare so þou ga [MS. *F*].

[8] See for this line also pp. cv ff.

That *V* does not agree with *F* in this variant shows that the variant is by the hand of the scribe of *F*, and is not traceable to their common source. Hence, if the scribe of their source were a Northern man, he must have passed over some Southern forms without attempting to change them into his own dialect; possibly he was not skilful enough to do so. The scribe of *F* himself lets a number of such forms pass unaltered; see lines 49-50; 209-10; 211-12.

Ms. *V* was certainly not derived from MS. *F*, as is clear from the reading of 124, and from 48 (where *F* has altered for the dialect), 209, 210. That MS. *F* did not come from MS. *V* is probable from 15 (where *F* agrees with *G*) and certain from 23. In this last line the manuscripts read:

G — *By* my manhede
FHIKL — *me* my [or þi] manhede
V and *J* — *þorw* " "

What must have happened is, that in the source of *IKFVHJL* the word *me* was substituted for *By* through a misreading, and that MSS. *V* and *J* corrected the error, while the other manuscripts continued to copy it.

Let us now consider line 122. The discussion of this line was postponed from page xciv, because the determination of the true reading here is a problem towards the solution of which little could be accomplished until we had ascertained the approximate relations of the manuscripts, and arrived at some conclusion with respect to their relative values as regards the preservation of true readings. Line 121, which forms a couplet with 122, must be considered also, as the question of the rhyme is involved.

A study of the different forms taken by these two lines in the various manuscripts shows that the original reading must have been either that of MSS. *I* and *K* or that of MS. *G:*

I. That oon lef ys shrift of herte
That oþere for synne hert smert
[from MS. *K*. *I* has made some slight changes.]

II. That on lef is opon[9] shryft
That oþer thin herte to smerte skyft
[from MS. *G*.]

All the other manuscripts are clearly erroneous, since in none of them does the couplet rhyme:

{ O lef is soþfast schrifte
{ þe toþ:ur is for synne herte smerte
[from MSS. *F*, *V*, and *H*.]

Ms. *J* gives a variant of no importance, due doubtless to its own scribe:

{ þat on it is soþfastly schryfte
{ þat other it is senne haue sorow

Now, it is by an examination of the error in *FVHJ*(*L*) that we may hope to arrive at the true reading of line 122. For this error is manifestly due to one of two causes: its source was either a manuscript in which the phrase *of hert* was gone from line 121 in couplet I. above, leaving:

That oon lef ys shrift
That oþere for synne hert smert

or its source was a manuscript in which the word *skyft* was lost from line 122, leaving the following from couplet II:

That on lef is opon shryft
That oþer thin herte to smerte

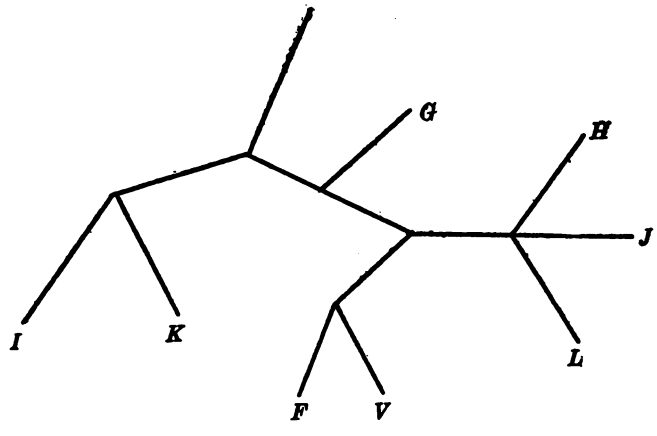
Should the first cause be the true one, MS. *G* would share

[9] In the original, this may have been *soþfast*, as in *FVHJ*(*L*).

the error of *FVHJ*(*L*), since it too lacks the phrase *of hert.* The word *opon* in *G*, and *soþfast* in the other manuscripts, would be supplied to eke out the metrically defective line 121. The word *is*, in MSS. *FV* and *J*, could presumably be accounted for in the same way. And finally, the scribe of *G*, being, we will suppose, of a more inventive turn of mind than the other scribes, would have attempted to correct the rhyme on his own responsibility, whence

That oþer thin herte to smerte skyft.

According to this explanation, MSS. *IK* alone would have the true reading of line 122, and our manuscripts would fall into two main groups, MS. *G* being now united with *FVHJ*-(*L*) in a common error, as follows:



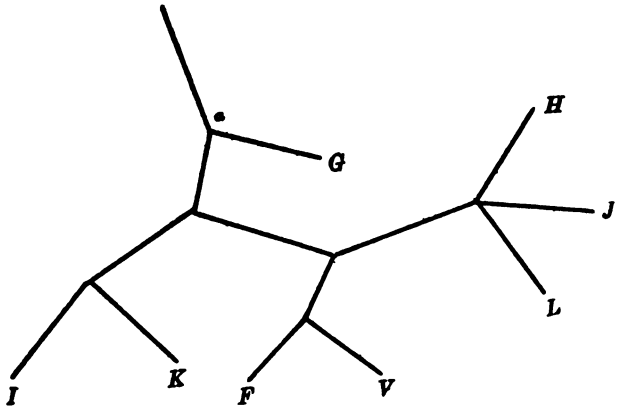
But, assuming the second to be the true explanation, MS. *G* would be the only manuscript preserving a true reading of line 122. We must suppose, then, that *IK* and *FVHJ*(*L*) have a common error, due to the loss, in their source, of the word *skyft.* In the source of *IK* and *FVHJ*(*L*), moreover, the defective line

That oþer thin herte to smerte

has been altered, for obvious reasons, to

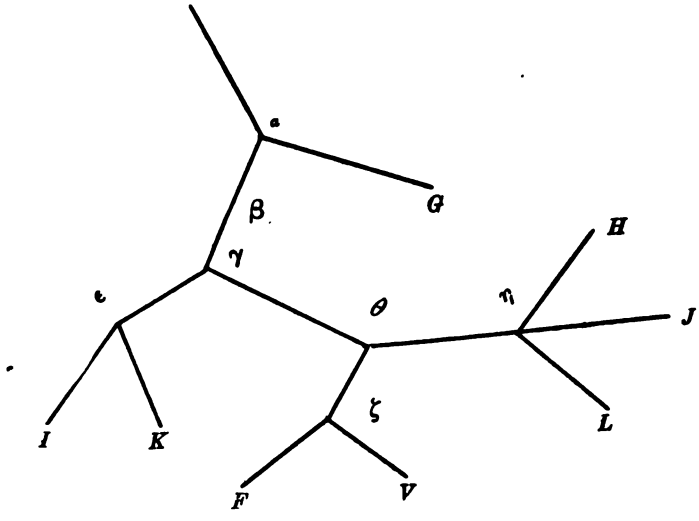
That oþere (ys) for synne hert smert.

The scribe of the source of *IK* has further added the phrase *of hert* to line 121, in order to correct the rhyme, and has cut out *opon* or *soþfast;* but the scribes of *FVHJ* have left the rhyme false. Our manuscripts would then have the following relations, with two main groups, *G* and *IKFVHJL:*



Now, since *G* is a fifteenth century manuscript, and MSS. *F* and *V* are both of the fourteenth century, it follows that, as *G* is derived from *α*, the source of all the extant manuscripts, another manuscript (*β*) must have intervened between *α* and the source of *IKFVHJL,* in which the word *skyft* was lost; because a) *G* contains *skyft* and b) in the source of *IKFVHJL* line 122 was already corrupted, as is proved by the common reading of all these manuscripts.[10]

[10] If MS. *G* did not copy directly from *α*, but from an early manuscript derived from *α*, this would not necessarily follow; since it would be possible, though hardly probable, that *α* might have lost the word *skyft* after the copy had been made from which *G* was derived.



At length, after having considered what is involved in assuming either of our couplets to be the reading of the original, I arrived at the conclusion that *IK* is spurious, and that MS. *G* alone records the true reading; because

1) *G* is our best manuscript. Whereas *I* and *K* have frequently been proved spurious in their readings, in no other instance of which we are certain has MS. *G* been found to err from the reading of the common original.

2) It is more reasonable to suppose that the extraordinary line 122 in *G*

That oþer thin herte to smerte skyft [11]

was written by the hand of the author himself than to suppose that a scribe, at a loss for a suitable rhyme, was the

[11] Certainly what the author meant to express here was one of the three parts of a true repentance—Contrition—which theologically, however, should come before *shryft*, the regular order being Contrition, Confession, Satisfaction. It is to be noted that MS. *I* does put Penance second, but this is not significant since *I* does not mention *shryft* at all, but for it substitutes *love of hert;* and since *K* has the same order as *G*, *shryft* first, then *hert smert*, or Contrition.

inventor of it. The word *skyft,* used in this abstract sense, is very rare. Indeed, the nearest approach to it that I have been able to find is in the *Metrical Homilies* (1325), line 61: "Bot Godd that skilfulli can skift, mad them," etc., where *skyft* means *to ordain.*[12]

3) The expression *shryft of hert* in *K* is probably an emendation for the sake of the rhyme, since it is inaccurate as regards meaning, and can not have been what the author intended to express. This emendation we must trace to the source of *IK,* for the word *shryft* obviously belonged to the original. The scribe of *I,* perceiving the inaptness of *shryft of hert* altered it to *loue of hert,* as has already been pointed out. It must be remarked with reference to the reading in *IK,* that it is much more obvious as an emendation than that of *G,* and would naturally occur to a scribe confronted with the false rhyme *shryft-smert.*

4) To assume that *IK* has preserved the correct reading is also to assume that our author was so clumsy as to use the word *hert* both in 121 and 122, which produces an unpleasant effect in reading the couplet. This is not in accord with his style in the rest of the poem.

5) No objection can be taken either to the metre or to the rhyme of *G* 122. Indeed, metrically, *G* 122 is a better line than *K* 122 or 122 in any of the other manuscripts. As to the rhyme, *skyft,* as in MS. *G,* is probably a syncopated form of the present indicative, 3rd person singular,[13] having as its subject *that oþer.*

Certain lines offering special difficulties must now be considered separately. The first of these is line 6. Here we have what at first sight would seem evidence of contamination.

[12] For this word see the Glossary. Its ordinary meaning is: to change, move away, assign, divide, in the concrete.

[13] Cf., for example, syncopated forms of verbs in *t, d, s,* occurring in the *Troilus,* Kittredge's *Observations of the Language of Chaucer's Troilus* (*Chaucer Society,* second ser. XXVIII.) 220-1, § 95, as *blent, sent, last, lyst, put,* etc.

Ms. *G* reads with *HJL:*

With treson and wythoute gult

Ms. *I:*

Wyth treson & also *with* gylt

Ms. *K* nearly the same:

Wiþ trosoune and wiþ þi gilt

Ms. *F:*

With tresone & *with* þine awen gylt

Ms. *V:*

With resoun and wiþ þin oune gult.

But this situation can be explained without the necessity of assuming contamination.

Manifestly, *G* and *HJL* are wrong as they stand, since the second half of the line flatly contradicts the first. The other readings are all possible, so far as sense goes. The readings of *F, I,* and *K* would mean that man's expulsion from Paradise was because of treachery towards God, and was due to his own fault; of *V,* that man was driven out with good reason and by his own fault. But if we assume the readings of any of these manuscripts to be correct, how can we account for the reading of *HJL?* Certainly contamination would not explain it, since the meaning of the line is spoiled instead of improved by the supposed alteration. The only possible explanation is that the scribe of the source of *HJL* was copying exactly what he found. In that case, the error must be traced back to *a,* the source of all the extant manuscripts. The original reading was undoubtedly not *tresoun* but *resoun,* and the line ran:

With resoun and wythoute gylt

i. e., that man was driven from Paradise for good reason and without injustice. The scribe of *a,* or of some manuscript

perhaps even farther back, prefixed a *t* to the word *resoun*, very likely because the *t* of w^t was near enough to confuse him. Hence MS. *G*'s reading. The mistake was retained in β and γ and again in θ. The scribes of ϵ and ζ, however, emended the texts they found, since the reading puzzled them, as well it might. This would also explain the variant in *V*.

The readings of line 19 should be noted. All the manuscripts but *G*, read *forty weeks and forty days* in referring to the period of time between the conception of Christ and His birth. MS. *G* reads forty weeks *saue V. days*. I am inclined to think that *G* is correct, and that the other manuscripts record a corruption traceable to γ or to β. If we imagine "saue" written "s aue," with the *s* rather far from the other letters and pretty close to the preceding word (which ends in *s*), we can see how the scribe could have omitted to connect it with *saue*. The final *e* may very easily have looked like *d*. In some manuscripts it is impossible to tell the difference between *e* and *d* except from the context. Next, there is the figure V., or the word *fiue* (or *fyfe*, or *fyue*, or *fife*). The word may have been blurred all but the initial *f*, whence the scribe was left to conjecture as to the original. In that case, he may have written *forty* for the sake of the sound effect it would produce with the first *forty;* or simply as a guess, without thinking of the meaning he was conveying. I see no other explanation for this line.[14]

[14] In the *Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost* (of MS. Laud 210, printed by Horstmann, *Richard Rolle* I. 352) the period between the conception of Christ and His birth is reckoned as *nyne and þritty wekes & a day*, or 274 days. *Piers the Plowman* B XVI. 100, gives *fourty wokes*. St. Augustine, *De Trinitate* Lib. IV. Cap. V. [Migne, *Pat. Lat.* XLII. col. 894], records it as 276 days: "Dixerunt enim: 'Quadraginta et sex annis ædificatum est templum' [St. John II. 19]. Et quadragies sexies seni, fiunt ducenti septuaginta sex. Qui numerus dierum complet novem menses et sex dies, qui tanquam decem menses parientibus feminis imputantur: non quia omnes ad sextum diem post nonum mensem

The next problem is that presented by the various readings of lines 29 to 37 inclusive. In 29, the pronoun *he* can be either singular or plural. We should expect a plural pronoun throughout, referring to *Belsebub* and *Satanas* in 27, as consistently in MS. *V*. *G, F,* and *L,* however, take the word *he* as singular, to judge from what follows, and continue to do so throughout, doubtless having Satan alone in mind, since two devils tempting Christ are not Scriptural. Ms. *I* leaves one in doubt; *he* is used in some lines, *þei* in others, but the possessives are all plural. *H, J,* and *K* vary; *H* begins with the plural, and changes to the singular with line 31. *J* does the same, changing however, at 35 to the singular. *K* is plural up to 33, when it too changes to the singular form. On the whole, there seems to me no safe way of grouping the manuscripts according to the singular and plural readings of these lines. There is too much that might easily confuse a scribe; the possibility of taking *he* in either way, and the danger of forgetting that two fiends are involved where but one would be expected.

Another case of the same nature is to be found in the readings of line 149. *Fyfþ* is certainly the true reading. The variant *fyrst* of MSS. *F, I,* and *K,* I believe to be a natural error of the scribes of *F* and of the source of *IK,* who doubtless misread the word because they expected that after the enumeration *Father and Son, God and Man,* each seal would be more fully described, beginning with the first.

Finally, there are certain agreements in the readings of manuscripts not grouped together, which may be attributed either to chance coincidence or to cross influence. I should attribute to chance coincidence the following:

perveniunt, sed quia ipsa perfectio corporis Domini tot diebus ad partum perducta comperitur, sicut a majoribus traditum suscipiens Ecclesiæ custodit auctoritas. Octavo enim calendas aprilis conceptus creditur, quo et passus . . . . Natus autem traditur octavo calendas Januarias."

K with *L* in line 4.
H " *IK* in line 154.
H " *K* in line 172.
F " *K* in line 204.
I " *HJ* in line 231.

172 and 231, especially, are slips that might very naturally be made by two scribes on account of association of ideas. *Tears* and *to weep* are more closely allied than *tears* and *to lete; paying* and *debts,* more allied than *paying* and *rent.*

Two other cases I do not feel sure of, namely, *J* and *IK* in lines 35 and 232. In 35, *J* may have altered *maistroye* to *envye* to rhyme with *destrye,* though it would seem as though he must have known of the form *maistrye.* Possibly he changed *cleyme* to *chalenge* in 232 to get a dissyllable. On the whole, I am inclined to believe that *J* and *IK* show merely chance agreement in these lines, since they do not agree in other readings where chance could not be the explanation.

§ 2. The B-Text

The veracity of the manuscripts of Version B is to be determined both by a comparison of their readings with the corresponding readings in Version A, and by such means as we have already made use of in the analysis of the manuscripts of A. The inter-relations of the manuscripts, however, present a much more complicated problem than we have had to deal with in the case of A, since here it is necessary to reckon with certain agreements in readings that seem at first sight to be due to contamination of manuscripts, but which appear, upon further analysis, to be due to other causes. We shall begin with the test for veracity.

With the aid of the A-text, and in other ways when that source of information failed, I have found that in the following lines we can attain either an absolute or a reasonable

certainty as to the reading of the archetype of the various manuscripts of the B-text: 42ª-42ᵇ*, 44*, 74*, 101*, 151-2*, 167-8*, 170*, 172*, 194*, 196*, 200*, 210*, 214*, 227*, 377*; and 121, 171, 186, 241. A comparison with readings in the A-text enables us to determine, in all but one of these lines, 101*, the original reading of B. Line 101 will be considered last:

42ª-42ᵇ:* = A-text 17-18. Correct, MSS. *C*, *E*, and *A*, which preserve these lines. They are dropped by MSS. *B* and *X*.[15]

44, 74*, 172*, 194*, 196**: In all these lines the reading of A is preserved in MSS. *C* and *E* only; though in 194* the correspondence with A is not exact, the reading of *C* and *E* is nearer to A than are the readings of the other manuscripts.

*151-2**: = A-text 75-76, preserved most nearly in *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X*. Lost in *C* and *E*.

*167-8**: = A-text 89-90. Correct, *C* and *E*, which preserve the rhyme word of the A-text.

*170**: = A-text 92, preserved in *C* and *E*. *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X* insert *here*, and *D* and *X* introduce "I" in addition, which is also in *C* and *E*.

*200**: = A-text 118, preserved most nearly in *C*. *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X* add *else*. *E* is spurious.

*210**: = A-text 128. The rhyme word of Version A is preserved in MSS. *A*, *B*, *D*, and *X*. Spurious, *C*[16] and *E*, though these do not agree.

*214**: = A-text 132. *C* is nearest to Version A in this line.

[15] Since the text of MS. *D* does not begin before line 69, *D* will not be mentioned in the discussion of lines earlier than this point. In the same way, MSS. *C* and *E* will not be mentioned under lines in which they are lacking. *C* stops with line 248, and *E* frequently drops couplets and passages throughout the entire poem.

[16] Ms. *C* has *I sende*, rhyming with *be-hynde*.

227:* = A-text 143. Correct, *C, E, D,* and *X.* Spurious, *A, B.*

377:* = A-text 219, preserved in *R,* and imperfectly in *E, B,* and *D* (though *B* and *D* do not agree with *E*). Cf. p. cxv, for discussion of these readings. Spurious, *A* and *X.*

Minor Lines.

121: = A-text 61, preserved in *C. A, B, D,* and *X,* insert *only.*

171: = A-text 93. Here MS. *G*'s reading is preserved in *C, E,* and *X.* Spurious, *A* and *B.* Ms. *D* is a combination of the readings of *C* and *E* and *A* and *B.* Cf. p. cxviii. None of the other manuscripts of Version A agree with readings of Version B.

186: = A-text 106, preserved (with slight variation) in *C* and *E* only.

241: = A-text 155, preserved most closely in *A, B,* and *D.*

101:* = the word *self* in MSS. *C, E,* and *B,* is the correct reading. *Soul,* in *A, D,* and *X,* is manifestly incorrect from the context.

Summing up results, we find that out of a total of sixteen major and four minor readings,

	True Major Readings	True Minor Readings	Total
Ms. *C* has	12	3	15
Ms. *E* has	11	2	13
Ms. *D* has	4	1	5
Ms. *B* has	4	1	5
Ms. *A* has	3	1	4
Ms. *X* has	3	1	4

Ms. *C* is, therefore, our best manuscript as far as it goes, which unfortunately is only to line 248. It is not remarkably well written; there are lines omitted, evidently by accident, here and there, as 16, 78, 110; and there are besides

some very bungling lines, as 9, 116, 152, 238. It needs to be corrected frequently by the aid of the other manuscripts. Ms. *E* is written with a very free hand. Consequently, in spite of its high rank in the list above, it is not to be depended upon for readings that cannot be tested by Version A or supported by MS. *C* or by MSS. *A, B, D* or *X*. Moreover, *E* frequently drops couplets, and sometimes longer passages. The manuscripts, *C* and *E* together, are nevertheless very valuable for constructing a critical text of Version B. Where they agree, they are almost invariably correct; and where they disagree, the preference should, generally speaking, be given to the version which is supported by the other manuscripts.

Let us now examine the manuscript relations of the B-text. In proportion to the length of the B version, there are fewer important variations among the manuscripts than in the A-text, if we except the unique readings of MS. *E*. I hope to show that B contains three groups, the first two being represented each by a single manuscript, *C* and *E* respectively, to the latter of which Version C is particularly related, as will be explained in § 4. The third group comprises MSS. *A, B, D,* and *X*. The difficulties presented by the readings of this group, together with the results I have reached, will be set forth in the succeeding paragraphs.

From the analysis of lines above, it is evident that *A, B, D,* and *X* are differentiated from MSS. *C* and *E* by the spurious readings of lines 44*, 74*, 167*, 170*, 172*, 194* (*A* is unique here), 196*, 200*, 214*, and 377*. Since in MSS. *C* and *E* the readings of these lines agree with Version A, the source of *ABDX* is responsible for the changes in the four manuscripts.[17]

[17] Other lines in which the readings of *ABDX* vary from those of *C* and *E*, though we can not be certain as to whether they are spurious or correct, are these: 1, 61, 182, 281, and 301 (partially). I have pur-

That *C* and *E* belong to different groups of Version B is probable from the fact that they do not agree in any reading that we can recognize as spurious.[18] Such agreements as these manuscripts show (and they are many) are uniformly in readings which we have ascertained to belong to the common original.

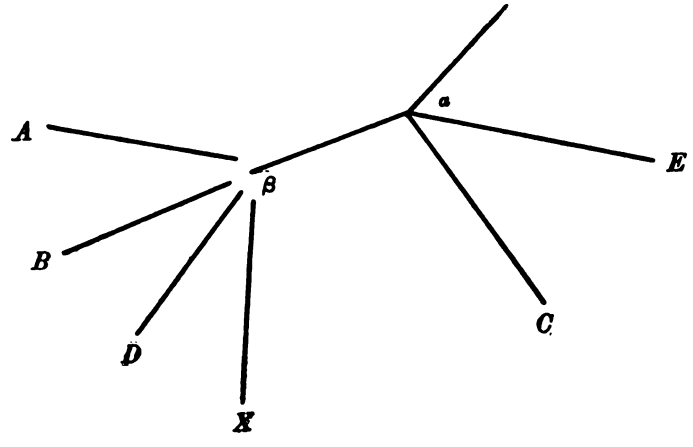
It is evident that *C* was not derived from *E*, for *C* does not share the peculiarities of *E* which unite that manuscript to Version C, nor does it bear marks of the editing for which *E* is so conspicuous, but keeps pretty close to the text, as a comparison of its lines with those of *ABDX* and of Version A will show. Also, while *E* drops many couplets and longer passages at times, *C* gives the whole text as far as line 248, except for a single line accidentally dropped in one or two cases.

posely omitted to mention the readings of 233 and 240. In 233, *fifth* is, of course, the correct reading, but it would have been very easy for any scribe to have written *first*, thinking that each point in the enumeration of the seals just preceding was to be separately dealt with, so that it is not safe to use this line as basis for classification. In 240, since *my* and *þy* could have been interchangeable, a scribe might easily have made a mistake here.

[18] The nearest approaches to such agreement are: a) 225, where *E* reads *thre nayles* and *C* *þe nayles*, the other manuscripts having *yren nayles*. But I believe this is explained by a *y* being read *þ*, and the stroke over the *e* being omitted in a manuscript between *E* and the source; and in *C*, the likeness to *E* is probably coincidence. The matter is too uncertain to rely on, especially as the three nails were a well known symbol of the Passion. b) 151-2, where, though *C* and *E* are both erroneous (Cf. Version A and *ABDX*), they do not agree in their readings of the lines. Each seems to have altered independently, perhaps because two very similar lines occur a little later, 155-6. c) Both *C* and *E* have but two Latin rubrics (though only one in common) of those which occur at intervals in the A-text; *ABDX* has retained five. *E* has written its rubrics not in the text, but in the margin, and has altered one of them from *Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem* to *memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum*. The second, *O vos omnes qui transitis per viam*, etc., was so common that the fact of *C* and *E*'s both having retained it proves no relationship between them. It is a frequent theme in the Complaints of Christ.

That *E* was not derived from *C* is plain, since *C* gives but 248 lines of text.

The manuscript relations, as ascertained up to this point, may therefore be represented thus:



Let us now examine the manuscripts of *ABDX* more particularly. In some of the lines of this group it is difficult to distinguish true from spurious readings; but we are enabled to detect many of them by a comparison with the readings of MSS. *C* and *E*, and also of MS. *R* of Version *C*, which, as I have said (p. cxii), is closely related to *E*. Since in the following discussion of *ABDX* and its subdivisions, as well as in § 3, I shall frequently have occasion to refer to MS. *R* to corroborate or to disqualify the readings of MS. *E*, I here refer the reader to § 4 where *R* and *E* are shown to be derived from the same manuscript (γ), and proceed now as if this were already established.

AX agree against *B* and *D* in the following readings:

1) *20ª-20b**: These two lines, as has been pointed out, were probably in the original, since both *C* and *ER* record them. *B* contains them, but *A* and *X* omit them.

2) *112*: The variants of the manuscripts here suggest

that the reading in MS. β was blurred. *AX* read *loke ye hem preche, B* and *D* read *I pray you þem preche;* while MS. *C* reads *I bydde ȝou hem preche. E* is very different, and *R* does not give the line. I believe that *C* has the original reading, as there seems no good reason for the variants in *AX* and *B* and *D.*

3) *126:* The correct reading here is in *B* and *D;* cf. MSS. *C* and *R* (*E* omits the line). *AX* probably represent an attempt to improve the metre.[19]

4) *150:* The original reading would seem to be that of *B* and *D,* since *C* and *R* both agree with these manuscripts. *AX* altered the line by crosssing out *forth,* though the metre is not improved by the emendation.

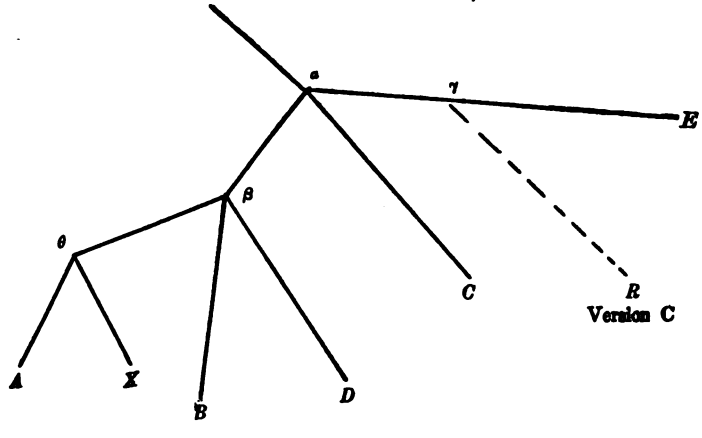
5) *377*:* Here all the manuscripts of *ABDX* are in error, cf. Version A, and MSS. *E* and *R.* It would seem as though the *wr* of *wroȝte* were obscured or lost in β. *AX*'s source (which we shall call θ) attempted to correct the error with *betought,* whence MS. *X.* The scribe of *A* substituted *towȝte,* and struck out *me.* The scribes of *B* and *D* did not attempt an emendation.

From these cases, it is evident that MSS. *A* and *X* agree in the common errors of lines 20^{a}-20^{b}* (dropped by *AX*), 126, 150, 377*, the last three being lines emended by the source of *AX* from the reading of β. Moreover, line 112, while not offering proof of certain error, nevertheless supports the evidence for a subgroup *AX* within *ABDX.* As to the other two manuscripts, *B* and *D,* it is doubtful whether

[19] A word should be said regarding the readings of line 300. *Rest to my head for to make* is the reading of *B, D,* and *E,* while *AX* (hence its source) has *whereof to make* in place of *for to make.* At first sight, it would seem as though *AX*'s version were that of the original of the B-text, since the corresponding line 78, in Version A, reads *my testament whereof to make.* But I believe that Version B's original reading was *for to make,* because: a) *E* agrees with *B* and *D* in this reading, and b) *for to make* would be a poor alteration, whereas *whereof to make* might easily suggest itself to the scribe of *AX*'s source from the line preceding.

they were derived separately from δ, or from an original common to them alone. The only evidence for the latter supposition would be line 112; but here we are on very doubtful ground, for it would have been natural for *B* and *D* separately to have applied the word *pray* to fill the supposed gap in their source. It must be noted that the word order in *B* and *D* is the same as that in *C;* this is not the case with the word order in *AX,* which makes the correspondence in these two manuscripts much more significant than that in *B* and *D.* On the whole, I am inclined to regard *B* and *D* as having no relation except through β.

If my analysis of the manuscripts holds, we may represent the relations of the versions as in the diagram below. For convenience, MS. *R* (Version C) is included in this plan. I am assuming here that within the group *ABDX* no manuscript is derived from another. For the proof of this, see p. cxx.



Certain cases of readings which do not accord with this analysis must be examined. These I cite below, with such explanations of the difficulty involved as I am able to offer:

A) The agreement of *X* with *B* in a common error.

16: *B* and *X* are in error, reading *that ye may* (or *now*) *know in all your thought.* *C* omits the line. *E*, *R*, and *A* read: *may* (or *most*) *keep.* Here *A* probably emended *know* to *keep* to make better sense.

42ᵃ-42ᵇ:* *B* and *X* have both dropped these lines. *A* retains them. They were in the common original (cf. Version A and MSS. *C*, *E*, and *R* where the lines have been altered; see p. cx). The fact that they are redundant may have led *B* and *X* independently to omit them.

B) The agreement of *A* and *B* in a common error.

227:* This line offers peculiar complications. Mss. *A* and *B* agree in a common error, but they are not exactly alike. *A* reads *The sesynge wax was dere y-bowȝt,* and *B*, *The sesynge was dere y-boght.* The correct reading occurs with unimportant variations in all the other manuscripts, *The selyng wexe was dere a-bought.*[20] I would suggest the following explanation: MS. *θ* read *The sesyng wax,* MS. *θ* and MS. *A* the same. Ms. *X* corrected the obvious blunder *sesyng* to *selyng,* as did *D*, while *B* emended erroneously by dropping the word *wax.* Such an explanation obviates the necessity of supposing contamination in this line.

C) The agreement of *A*, *B*, *E*, and *R* against *C*, *D*, and *X*.

140: The simplest explanation of the line I believe to be this: the original reading was *And alle myn frendys sone me forsoken.* *C* emended to *And alle myn frendys me sone forsokn.* The source of *E* and *R* (*γ*) emended by dropping *sone* to make the line smoother. *β* retained the original reading, followed by *D*, *θ*, and *X*. *A* and *B*, however, emended in the same way that *γ* did, by omitting *sone,* which is the most obvious thing to do.

D) The agreement of *A*, *B*, and *C* against *E*, (*R*), and *X*.

21: MSS. *A*, *B*, and *C* read *without great strife.* *E*, *R*,

[20] Ms. *E* reads: *This selynge was dyre y-bowght,* but *R* records the regular version.

and *X* read *withouten strife.* I would suggest here that the older reading may be that of *E, R,* and *X,* and that the other manuscripts, independently of each other, inserted *great* for metrical reasons, since unless the word *without* is regarded as having three syllables, the line will not scan.

60: C, A, and *B* read *for to helpe the was all my thought; E* and *X, the to helpe* (*E, euer was; X, was al*) *my thoght. R* is unique and quite different. Since the correspondence between *E* and *X* is not exact, the readings of these two would seem to be independent emendations for the sake of the metre. Moreover, as there is little likelihood that the line, as it stands in *E* and *X,* would have been altered to the other form, the original reading is probably that of *C, A,* and *B.*

E) The three readings *A* and *B; C, E,* and *X;* and *D.*

171: The correct reading is probably *Ye men that go forth by the way,*[21] in *C, E,* and *X. A* and *B* have *here* instead of *forth,* while *D* has *forth here.* The explanation might be that *β,* after having written *forth,* preferred *here,* and set it down right after *forth,* with a faint line through the rejected reading. *θ* and *D* did not see the line and copied both words. *B* did see it and rejected *forth. A* and *X* emended the reading of *θ* separately, one choosing *here* and the other *forth.*

F) *E* and *B* against *ADX.*

101:* The correct reading here is obviously that of *C, E,* and *B: my self,* and not *my soul.* The error *soul* must have appeared in *β. B* independently emended the line by restoring *self.*

287: The original reading of this line (see MS. *E*[22] and

[21] See MS. *G,* A-text.

[22] It will be obvious that we cannot depend upon MS. *E* here, nor indeed upon any of the MSS., for the correct reading of the pronoun. The word *suffered* is the reading with which we are concerned in this line.

the context) was probably *The pains that she suffered were full smert.* Ms. β introduced a spurious reading, *The pains that I had,* mistaking the author's meaning, and wishing to use a different expression from that employed just above in line 281. He may have taken line 287 to be merely a repetition of 281. *B* corrected this to *the pains that she suffered,* using the word *suffered* from line 281 again, and not, as I believe, from MS. *E.*

G) The agreement of *E* (*R*) and *A* against *B, D,* and *X.*

312: Here MS. *A* reads *thou shalt stand on my right hand,* with MS. *E,* against *thou shalt be soothly on my right hand* of *B, D,* and *X.* Ms. *R* does not help us here, as it is quite different: *On my reght hand wend sall he.*

370: The true reading would seem to be that of *E, R,* and *A,* which gives the better interpretation to the author's thought. The emendation *will* in *B, D,* and *X,* instead of *belief,* was doubtless made for metrical reasons in β *A* may have independently altered this to improve the sense; the change would have been a natural one to make.

It will be observed from this analysis that we have nothing except lines 42^{a}-42^{b} and 312, to weaken our general argument for the manuscript divisions. I have suggested an explanation of 42^{a}-42^{b}; but it must be acknowledged that one could understand better the omission in *B* and *X* of the following two lines, 43-4, on the ground of redundancy, than of these two. I cannot, however, accept manuscript contamination as the explanation in these cases; for if *B* and *X* are examples of cross influence here, why not in other lines? If the scribe of *X* were using *B,* why did he not emend his plain error in line 101; and why, if the scribe of *B* were using *X,* does his text contain the error of 227? The same may be said regarding the readings of 312. If *A* were influenced by *E* here, why not also in 101 and 227? In the same way, it will be evident from all the lines discussed above as offering

special difficulty, that we cannot detect any case of a manuscript showing consistent contamination by another manuscript. Hence we are forced to conclude that, even in the cases of lines 42^{a}-42^{b} and 312, cross influence is not a factor, and that these two must be added to the list of coincident readings.

It is now possible to show that no manuscript of Version B is derived directly from another.

Neither *B* nor *D* was derived from *A* or *X*, as is shown by the lines 20^{a}-20^{b}, 31 (for *B*), 377*. Neither *A* nor *X* was derived from *D*, as is obvious from *D*'s lack of lines 1-68. *A* was not derived from *B*, since *B* omits lines 42^{a}-42^{b}, which *A* has, and which were in β; nor was *X* derived from *B*—see lines 101, and 203 (where *B* has made an emendation and X retains the common error of Version B and certain manuscripts of Version A. See p. cxxi for full discussion of this line). Finally, *X* was not derived from A, as we see from lines 16, 140, and 203; nor did *A* come from *X*, as is shown by 42^{a}-42^{b} and 167.

§3. Relation of the Parent Manuscript of Version B to Version A.

It is probable that the source of Version B had its origin either in that A manuscript which was the source of *IK* and *FVHJL*, or in a manuscript derived from it. For by line 44, we see that the B-text does not possess the common error of *HJL* 22; and by 376, that it has not corrected the erroneous reading *red*, which *HJL* has done.[23] Again, in 53, Version B does not contain the error of *FV* 25; and in 42^{a} it lacks the spurious reading of *FVHJL* 17. Moreover, in 171 it contains the word *forth*, which is dropped by the source

[23] It will be remembered that *HJL* emended to the true reading *white* in this line.

of *FVHJL*, but which belonged to the original line (93) as is shown by MS. *G*. Hence Version B does not derive from any manuscript of *FVHJL*.

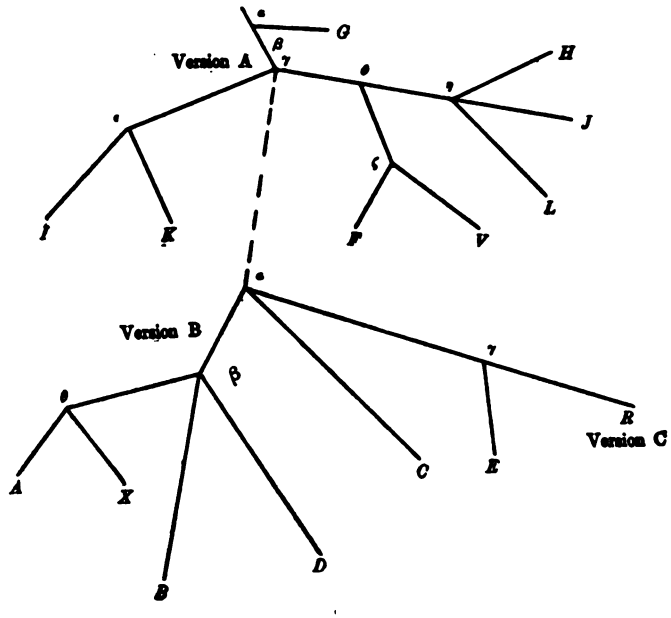
Next, as B shows no agreement with *IK* in its important divergences from the other A manuscripts, namely in lines 28, 30, 45, 49, 57, 73, 76, 83-4, 94, 100, 147, 158, 162, 193 (= B 56, 62, 81, 87, 103, 140, 152, 161-2, 172, 180, 231, 244, 248, 345), it cannot have been derived from that group.

Finally, B 203 does not agree with MS. *G* in the reading of line 122 (where *G* alone has the true reading), but shows the common error of *IKFVHJL*, in that it records the false rhyme of *FVHJL*, *schrift—smert* (*IK* having altered this to *hert—smert*). One point, however, must be noted in this connection. Mss. *A*, *B*, (and *R*,[24] of Version C) have emended this line so as to rhyme *hert* and *smert* as was done by *IK*; see *A* and *B* 203-4, and *R* 277-8. *R* in particular has made a much better couplet by putting *smert* in the first line instead of *hert*, and combining *hert* with *soro* in the second line. (See pp. c ff. for comparison with the A-text on this couplet.)[25] From the above facts, then, we infer that Version B was not derived from the common source of *G* and the other manuscripts of Version A (α).

Since B is not derived from MS. *G* or its original, or from either one of the subgroups *IK* and *FVHJL*, its source must be a non-extant text which was derived, directly or indirectly according to the foregoing evidence, from the source of the subgroups *IK* and *FVHJL*. This may be represented as follows:

[24] See p. cxiv, where my reason is given for citing the readings of *R* before showing its relation to Version B.

[25] This line is not evidence of contamination of MSS., since the emended readings in *A*, *B*, and *R* do not agree with each other, nor with those of *IK*.



Certain sporadic common readings of manuscripts of the three groups may be noted. They do not, I believe, show contamination, since there are no other proofs of cross influence between Versions A and B or A and C. They seem to be due merely to coincidence. The most important, perhaps, is the agreement between *E* 168 and *FVH(JL)* 90, in the reading *black* instead of *red*. Other slight agreements are:

E 86	with Version A,		*F* 48
E 290	"	"	all MSS. 182
EBD 300 and Version C, MS. *R* 458	"	"	*J* 178
Various B MSS. 138	"	"	various MSS. 72
Version C, MS. *R* 352	"	"	*J* 182
Version C, MS. *R* 536	"	"	*J* 146
Version C, MS. *R* 523 and Version B, MS. *E* 217	"	"	J 135

§ 4. Relation of Version C to Version B.

We shall now consider the relationship of Version C, or MS. Royal 17. C XVII., to the manuscripts of the B-text.

Version C (or MS. *R* as I shall call it here to distinguish it from MS. *C* of Version B), traces its descent from a B manuscript which was closely related to the source of MS. *E;* for *E* and *R* are the only manuscripts containing the following lines:

E 16^{a}-16^{d} = *R* 17-20
E 28^{a}-28^{h} = *R* 35-38; 41-44
E 152^{a}-152^{d} = *R* 209-10; 213-14.

Moreover, *E* and *R* record common errors in

E 151-2* = *R* 207-8
E 200* = *R* 274
E 210 = *R* 284
E 212 = *R* 286 [26]
E 217 = *R* 523

as may be seen by comparing these readings with those of Version A, and with those of the other manuscripts of B. *E* and *R* show coincident readings not distinguishable either as errors or as true readings, but not found in the other manuscripts, in lines:

E 145 = *R* 187
E 281 = *R* 357
E 301 = *R* 459

Slight agreements also exist between *E* and *R*, as in *R* 280 = *E* 206; *R* 584 = *E* 380.

[26] This line is proved to be a common error by the agreement of *C* and *AB*(*D*)*X* in another reading.

R is an unreliable manuscript, because its scribe, or the scribe of some source of *R*, has in numerous instances dealt very freely with the text. See, for example, lines 24, 30, 45, 46, 89, 90, 108, etc. On the other hand, sometimes *R* will seem to be correct where *E* is apparently incorrect. *R* is a valuable manuscript for the purpose of checking the readings of *E*, particularly in those lines that are lacking in *C*; for (in the last part of the poem) where a reading in *R* agrees with *ABDX*, but not with *E*, we may feel reasonably sure that *R* is correct and *E* is not; and *vice versa*.

R shows one or two coincident readings with *ABDX*, but they are insignificant, the most important being in line 76, where *R* agrees in part with *ABX* 44 against *C* and *E*.[27]

The following is a list of such interpolations made by Version C in the B-text as we have not yet noted in other connections.

Narrative additions	*Didactic and moral additions*
49-62	
85-88	Dealing with Seven Sacraments
189-90	291-314
193-204	Dealing with the Eucharist
219-224	560-64
227-234	Dealing with Penance
237-238	595-96
253-256	
337-348	
501-510	

[27] The others are, *R* 118 with *X* 76; *R* 358 with *A* 282.

The Texts

OF

The Charter of Christ

In printing the texts, no attempt has been made at emendation, except in a few instances, recorded in the footnotes, where scribal errors are unmistakable. Very few marks of punctuation appear in the manuscripts. In some, for example MS. Add. 11307, periods occur at the end, and sometimes in the interior, of the lines; but as these marks do not appear with regularity the editor has ignored them for the sake of consistency. Dots over *y* are also ignored. Capitals, except in two or three cases where they occur in the middle of a word, are retained. Certain apparently meaningless tails after various letters, such as those sometimes after *f* and *t* in MSS. Harl. 2346 and Ash. 189, are not represented; nor are strokes crossing *ll* and *h*—except in *Ihc* which is expanded in the usual manner. Other strokes and curls are expanded according to the editor's understanding of the symbols. In MSS. Camb. Univ. Ii. 4. 9., Bod. C. 280, and sometimes in Harl. 237, *y* and þ are written alike: in these cases þ has been printed when it properly occurs. The Latin rubrics occurring at intervals in the poems are represented in a uniform type in the printed texts, whether illuminated, underlined, or left unmarked in the MSS. The numbering of the lines in the *Long Charter* is made, for purposes of convenience, to correspond to the numbering in the E. E. T. S. edition.

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MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE SHORT CHARTER

SLOANE 3292.

Fol. 2 **Magna Carta de libertatibus Mundi**

a Ihesus Christ his Charter great
b That bloud & water so did sweat
c And had his Heart I-wounded sore
d To saue Mankinde for euermore
e Christ hath cancelld the writt of Mans dett
f And by this Charter him free hath sett

Nouerint presentes & futuri

Wat yee now all that be heere
and after shall be leif and deere
That I Ihesus of Nazareth
for Loue of Man haue suffered death
Uppon the Cross with wounds fyue
Whilest I was heere on Earth alyue

Dedi et Concessi

I haue geuen and made a graunte
to all people repentant
Heauens Bliss without ending

Habendum

As long as I am Heauens King

Redendo

Keap I no more for all my smart
but the true Loue of all thy hart
and that thou be in Charety
and Loue thy Neighbour as thyself
this is the Rent thou shalt giue me
as to the Cheif Lord of the ffee

Warrantizatio

And if any one shall say now
that I dyed not for mans prow
Rather then Man should be forlorn
Yet would I be eft all to-torne

In cuius rei testimonium

In wittnes of the which thinge
Myne owne seale there-to I hing
and for the more sikernes
the wounde on my syde is

Datum apud Hierusalem

This was geuen at Calluery
the first[1] day of the great mercy

Hijs testibus

Wittnes the day that turnd to night
the Sonn that then withdrew his light
Wittnes the Earth þat[2] then did quake
and stones great þat[2] in sonder brake
Witnes the Vaile that then did ryue
and men that rose from dead to lyue
Witnes my Mother and St John
and other then their many one

R & B[3]

on strap

seal

heart within a circle

Uppon the other si[de o]f the seale there was should be a P[e]l[ican pick-i]ng her bloo[d] for[4]

Mr Lambert a Justice of Peace in Kent found this on a grauestone in an Abby in Kent bearing date A° Dni 1400 a Copie whereof was geuen to Mr Humfry Windham of Winsecombe in the county of Somerset.

[1] First written *great*, but corrected by the same hand. [2] *y* instead of þ.
[3] Or D? [4] The last part is entirely illegible. Cf. p. xx.

STOWE 620.

Magna Carta de libertatibus mundi

Fol. 11b-12a

e Crist hathe cancelled the writinge of mens dette
f and by the great charter him free hathe sett
1 *Sciant presentes et futuri* Wetys now all that are here
And after shal be leife and dere
that y Yesus of nazarethe
for loue of manne haue suffred deathe
5 Vppon a crosse with woundes fyue
Whilst y was manne yn yerthe one lyue
Dedi et concessi
Y haue gyfen and made a graunt
to all that askes yt[1] repentant
hevin blysse without endinge
10 as longe as y ame there kinge
kepe y no moore for all my smarte
but true love manne of thyne harte
and that thowe be in charite
and love thy neighboure as y love thee
15 this is the rent thow shalt gyue me
as to the cheif lorde of the fee
Warantizabo gyf any mane will saye now
that y ne haue died for manne his prowe
rather ther[2] manne sholde be forlorne
20 yet wold y eft be all to-torne
Hijs testibus Witnesse the day that toorned to nighte
and the sonne that withdrew his lighte
Witnesse the yerthe that then did quake
and stoones great that in sonder brake
25 Witnesse the vayle that then did Ryue
and men that roose from deathe to lyue
Witnesse my muther and Seint Johne
and others that were there many one
In cuius rei testimonium
Jn witnesse of the w*hi*che thyng
30 Myne owene seale therto J hynge
and for the more seckernesse
the wounde of my syde the seale yt is
Data &c. this was yeven at Calvarye
34 the first daye of great mercye

cor charte appensum rosei
vice cerne sigilli

Spreta morte tui solus id
egit amor

[1] Space for another word is left just before this word in the MS.
[2] Should be *than* or *then*.

Matris ut hec proprio Stirps est sacrata cruore Pascis item proprio Xpc cruore tue

seal

heart within

a circle

ther vnder nethe in the corner is the olde pointed seale within this Charter was sett downe was a pellicane a pickinge Her brest and with bloode flowinge Her yonge one in the nest with the verses about her

vt pellicanus fit patris sanguine sanus
sic nos salvati sumus omnes sanguine nati.

Legend on the Seal: De charta redemptionis humane sigillum saluatoris d*omi*ni n*ostr*i Iesu *christum.*

Add. Charter 5960.

Noverint Universi Presentes et futuri

Weetis all that bee heere
Or that shall bee leife and deere
That I Iesus of Nazereth
ffor mankinde have suffered death
Upon the crosse with woundes five
Whilest I was man on earth alive
Dedi et concessi
I have geoven and doe graunt
To all that aske in faith repentaunt
Heavens blisse withouten endinge
So longe as I am their King
Keep I noe more for all my smart
but the true love of thy hearte
And that thou bee in charitie
And thy neighbour love as I love thee
Warrantizo

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

If any man dare to say
That I did not his debt pay
Rather then man shall bee forlorne
Yett would I oft bee all to-torne
his testibus
Witnesse the Earth that then did quake
And stonys great that in sunder brake
Witnesse the day that turnd to night
And the cleere sun that lost his light

Witnesse the vaile that then did rend
And graves which their tenantys forth did send
Witnesse my moder and St Ihon
And bystanders many a one
In cuius rei testimonium
ffor furder witnes who list appeale
To my heere vnder-honged seale
ffor the more stable surenesse
this wound in my hearte the seale is
Datum
yeoven at Calvary
The first day of the great mercie
(*strap and seal*)

CHS IHS

factu*m* est cor meu*m*
tanqua*m* cera liquesu
[sic] Psal 22: 13(?)
[cf. *Vulg.* Psal. 21: 15]

ealid & deliuered ye presence of { Mary Mother of God / Mary Cleophe / Mary Iacobi / John ye disciple } Ita fide*m* facimus { Matthew / Marke / Luke / Iohn } Notarij publici

Long[i]nus Centurion

Cor charte appensum rosei vice cerne sigilli spretâ morte, tui solus id egit amor.

Readings of Harl. 6848 exclusive of differences in capitalization: 1) be 2) shal beleife 3)Nazareth 4)Mankind; suffred 5) cross; woundis 6) whilst; upon 7) yeoven; do 8) unto 9) bliss; ending 10) long 11) no; smarte 12) my; heart 13) *That* omitted; be; Charitee. Warrantize. 19) than shal be 20) yet; be 21) Witness 22) that did 23) Witness; turned 25) Witness 27) Witness 29) Witness 30) here underhanged 31) sureness 32) wounde; heart. In the attestation, *Mary* is spelled *Marie;* some of the words "Sealed and delivered," etc., are missing in the rotograph. CHS appears instead of IHS, and the remainder of the writing on the strap is lacking. *Chartae* appears instead of *Charte.*

ADD. 37049.

Fol. 22ᵃ

Sciant presentes & futuri
Wete now al þat ar here
And after sal be lefe & dere
þat I Ihesus of nazareth
ffor luf of man has sufferd deth
Opon þe cross with woundes fyfe
Whils I was man in erth on lyfe
Dedi & concessi
I hafe gyfen & made a graunt
To al þat asks it repentaunt
Heuen blis with-outen endyng
Als lang as I am þair kyng
Kepe I no more for al my payne[1] smert
Bot trew luf man of þi hert
And at þou be in charite
And luf þi neghbour as I luf þe
þis is þe rent þou sal gyf me
As to þe chefe lord of þe fe[2]
If any man wil say now
þat I ne hafe dyed for mans prow
Rather or man suld be forlorne
ȝit wald I eft be al to-torne
Hijs testibus
Witnes þe erth þat þan dyd qwake[3]
And stones gret þat sonder brake
Wittnes þe vayle þat þan did ryfe
And men þat rose fro ded to lyfe
Witnes þe day þat turned to nyght
And þe son þat withdrewe his light
Witnes my moder & sayn Ion
And oþer þat wer þer many one
In cuius rei testimonium
In witnes of whilk þinge
My awne seal þerto I hynge
And for þe more sikirnes
þe wounde in my syde þe seal it is
a With perchyng sore of my hert
b With a spere þat was scharpe
Datum
þis was gyfen at Caluery
þe fyrst day of þe gret mercy &c

[1] A word has been stroked through before *payne*.

[2] MS. *fe* supplied in the margin by the same hand.

[3] MS. *qwake* written twice, the first occurrence of the word being stroked through.

Harl. 116.

Fol. 97b

Sciant presentes & futuri &c
wetys ye now all þat[1] bene here
And aftyr shall ben leef & dere
That I ghesus of Nazareth
ffor lufe of mane haue sofurde dethe
Vpone the crosse with woundis fife
Whilis I was man here one lyfe
dedi & concessi &c
I haue[2] yevyne and made a graunt
To all that askys me repentaunt
hevene blisse withoute endyng
As long as j am þe[3] Kynge
Kepe j no more for my smart
but trulofe man of þi harte
And that þou be in charite
And luffe þi neyghbure as j do the
This is the rente þou shalt gyfe me
As[4] to the chefe lord of the fre
jf any mane woll say now
þat j ne haue done for mannes prow
Rathere thane mane shulde be forlorne
ȝit wolde j all[5] be efte to-torne

Testibus his &c

Witnesse the day that turnede to nyght
Ande the sonne withdrew his lyght
Witnesse the erth that gane quake
And stones gret þat sondure brake
Witnesse þe vaile that gane rife
And mene that rose fro dethe to lyfe
Witnesse my modyr and saynt Johne
And other þat wer ther many one
In cuius rei testimonium &c
In witnesse of the same thinge
Myselfe þerto forsoth j hynge
And for the more sikernesse
My herte wounded the sele it is

Data etc

This was yolvyne[6] at caluarie
The firste day of grete mercye

Carta Redempcionis humane[7]

[1] Ms. *yt*. [2] Final meaningless curl on this word.
[3] Ms. *y*e. [4] Ms. *vs?* [5] Added above the line. [6] Or *yowyn*.
[7] The rubrics are in red ink throughout, as well as the colophon.

ADD. 24343.

I H C

Fol. 6b

Siant[1] *presentes & futuri &c*

Wittnes now al that bene here
And eftere schall be leve and dere
That I ih*esus* of nazareth
ffor the loue of mane than tholed deth
Apon the crose with woundes fyve
Qwan I was yn e[r]th of lyve

Dedi & Concessi

I haue gyue and mad a graunte
To all that askes now with repentans
Heuenys blis with-outtyn endynge
Als longe as I ame euer ther kenge
I aske no more of the for my smertte
Bot the trew loue mane al of th[i] herte
And that þou lyve yn charite
And loue thi newghpure als I do the
This is the rent thu schall geue me
16 Als for the cheyff lord al of the ffee
a With sore woundis & grevanse
b Thi loue I bought with scheld & launce
17 Gyve my mane will sai nowe
That I ne died for manes prowe
Or manes saule schuld be lorne
Ofte I wold be al too-torne

Fol. 7a

*hijs Testib*us

Wittnes the day turnned too noghtte
The sone withdrew his lightte
Wittnes the erth that gane quake
And stoñnes grete that gane brake
Wittnes the wale that gane ryve
And mene that rose frome deth to lyue
Wittnes my moder & sain[t] Iohn
And vder that wer ther mony one

[*In cujus rei testimonium*][2]

Y[n] Wit[tn]es of the sam[e] thynge
My-selue on crosse al blody I hynge
And ȝitte for [more] s[i]kirnese
The wound yn my herte the celle it [i]s
D[a]ta
This was gyuyne at Calu*er*ye
34 The firste day of gret mercye

Carta Redemcionis Humane[3]

[1] Thus the MS. [3] Hardly legible.

[2] The words, *Min harte life and dere* are scribbled below in a different hand.

Caius Coll. Camb. 230.

Fol. 25b

Wyteth now alle þat be here
& after schal be leef and dere
þat Ihesus of nazareth
for loue of man haue suffred deþ
Vp-on a cros with woundes fyue
Whilys i was man in erþe on-lyue
I haue yeue & maad a graunt
To alle þat aske it repentaunt
heuene blis with-oute endyng
As i am þere oonly kyng
kepe i no more for al my smerte
But loue me man of al þyn herte
And þat þou be in charite
& loue þi neybur as i do þe
þis is þe rente þat þou schalt yeue me
As to þe cheef loord of lond & se [1]
yif eny man wil sey now
þat I not deyde for mannys prow
Rather þanne he schulde be forlorn
Yit i wolde eft be al to-torn
Witnessyng þe day þat turned to nyht
& þe sonne þat withdrowh his lyht
witnessyng þe erþe þat þanne quok
& stonys harde þat þo brook
witnessyng þe vayle þat þanne dede [ryue] [2]
& men þat roos from deþ to lyue
witnessyng my moder and also seynt Ioon
& oþre þat ware þere many oon
In witnessyng of which þyng
Myn oun sele þerto i hyng
& for þe more sykernys
þe wounde in my side þe seel it is
þis was yeue at caluary
þe firste day of þe greet mercy

Explicit carta humane redempcio[nis] [2]

[1] The words *al of þe fee* appear in the margin opposite this line.
[2] Cut off by edge of folio.

Ashmole 61.

Testamentum domini.

Wyteh wele all þat bene here
And after schall be leue & dere
That I Ihesus of naȝareth
ffore lufe of man haue soferd deth
vpon a crosse with wondes fyue
Whyle I was man off lye
I haue gyuen & made a grante
To all þat askys repentante
heuens blysse withouten endynge
Als longe as I ame þer kynge
kepe I no more fore all my peynes smerte
Bot trew lufe of mannys herte
And þat thow be in charyte
And loue þi neyȝbour as I do the
Thys is þe rente thow schall gyff me
As to þe cheffe lord of þe fe
Iff any man cane sey now
That I ne haue dyȝed fore manys prow
Raþer than man schuld be fore-lorne
ȝite wold I efte be all to-torne
Wytnes þe dey þat turnyd to nyȝht
And þe sone withdrew hys lyȝht
Wytnes þe erth þat þan dyde quake
and þe stones þat all to-brake
Wytnes þe vayle þat thane dyd ryue
And dede men rosse fro deth to lyue
Wytnes my modere & seynt Iohne
And oþer þat there were many one
In wytnes off þat yche thynge
Myne awne sele þerto I hynge

[*Seal.*]

HARL. 237.

Fol. 100ab

Carta hu*ma*ne rede*m*pcionis

Witnes wele al þat bene here &
And efte*r* sal be leue and dere
þat I ihe*sus* of Naȝaret
fore luf of mane has sufferde deth
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
I haue gyue and made a *gra*nte
to al þat askes it repe*n*tant
heuyns blis withoutyn endynge
als longe as I am þer kynge[1]
a (kepe I no more nore o*þer* thinge)[2]
Kepe I no more fore al my smerte
Bod luf man of þin hert
Bod þat þou be in charite
and luf þi nyȝtbur as I do þe
Þis is þe rent þou sal gife me
as to þe chef lord of þe ffe
If ony man kane say nowe
þat I ne diede for manys prow
Ra*þer* þan man sulde be forlorne
ȝit walde I eft be al to torne
Witnes þe day þat turne in-to nyȝt
and þe sone withdraw his lyȝt
Witnes þe erth þat þen gon qwake
And þe stane þat al to b[rake]
Witnes þe vail þat þan gon ryfe
and men þat rais fra ded to lyfe
Witnes my moder and sent Iohne
And othir þat þer were[3] . . .
In testimonying of þe whilk thinge
Mi awne sel her-to I hynge
And fore more sekirnes
Þe wonde in my side þe seil it is
Þis was gifyn at caluarye
dayt þe first[4] day of þe gret Mercy q*uod* I lang[5]

[1] This line is cancelled, evidently by mistake.

[2] Extra line. Doubtless the one the scribe meant to cross out instead of the one above it.

[3] Incomplete.

[4] The scribe first wrote *gret* here and cancelled it, putting *first* in above with a caret below.

[5] See description of this MS. at p. xxvi for the order in which the lines occur.

FAIRFAX.

Fol. 119a

[ADD. 5465] [1]

Be hit knowyn to all that byn here
and to all that here afftir to me shalbe leffe and dere
That Jhesus off nazareth
for thi loue man haue suffired deth
Vppon the crosse *with* woundis smert
In hed in fete in handis in hart
a an for I wolde haue thyne herytage agayne
b Therfor I suffyrd all this payne.

Fol. 120a

A man I haue gevyn and made a graunt
to the end and thou wilt be repentaunt
heuyn bliss thyne eritage *with*oute endyng
as long as I am lord and kyng
not covetyng mor for all my smert
but a louyng and a contrite hart
and that *þ*ou be In charite
loue *þi* neyboure as I loue the
I loue the this *þat* I axe of the
that am the cheffe lord of the fee

Fol. 121a

Be it knowyn [etc. ut supra]
If any man will say here agayne
that I suffird not for the this payne
Yet man that *þ*ou sholdest not be lorne
In the awter I am offerd my fader beforne
witness the day turnyd to ny*ȝ*th
witness the sonne that lost his ly*ȝ*th
wittness the vale that then did ryve
witness the bodies *þat* rose from deth to lyve

Fol. 122a

Be it knowyn [etc. ut supra]
wittness the erthe that did quake
wittness stonys that all to brake
witness mari wittness seynt John
and othir wittness many one
In to witness of which thyng
my nowne seale ther to I hyng
and man for the more sykyrnesse
The wounde in myn harte *þe* seale it is
I gevyn vpon the mownt of caluary
the grete daye of mannys mercy
Be it knowen to all (etc. ut supra).

[1] Reprint from the text printed by B. Fehr in Herrig's *Archiv*, CVI. 69-70.

Ashmole 189.

Fol. 109
Wette ye All that bene here
And here-Aftre that shal be lefe & dere
That I Ihesus of Nazareth
ffor the loue of man haue suffred deth
Fol. 109b
A-pone A crosse wyth woundys fyve
Whyle þat I was in yerth man A-lyve
That I haue yeve & made A graunte
To All tho þat wyll Aske it repentaunte
Heuene blys wythoute yendeynge
As longe I Am in heuene reynynge
Kepe I no more for All my smerte
But tru loue of þe man with All thyne herte
And þat þou be in full charite
And loue thy neighbour As I do the
Thys is the rent þat þou shalt yelde vnto me
As to þe cheffe lorde of þe fee
And yf Any mane sey vnto þe nowe
That I haue not dyed for manis prowe
Rather þen man shuld be for-lorne
Yet yeft-sones wold I be All to-torne
In wittenesse of þe daye þat turned to nyght
And of the sone þat wythdrewe hys lyght
In wyttenesse of þe yerth þat þen dyd quake
And of þe harde stones þat All to-brake
In wyttenesse of þe viele þat þen dyd reve
And of men þat rose from deth to lyue
In wyttenesse of mary my moder & of seynt Iohne
And of odre þat ther were meny one
In wyttenesse of the whych thynge
Fol. 110
Myne owne selfe therto I hynge
And All-so for þe more sekernesse
The wounde in my syde þe seale it ys
Thys was graunted At Caluarye
The fyrste daye of þe grete mercy
xiiij M yeres of pardoun
wyth-oute popes twelve
Eche of them .vj. yeres by themselfe
Patriarkes Archebysshopys & bysshopys Also
Mekell pardoun haue graunted therto
The some of þe indulgence rekene or þou gois
Is xx^{ti}vj M. yeres xxx^{ti} yeres & vj days

St. John's Coll. Camb. Ms. B. 15.

Fol. 58a

Carta redempc*ionis*

Wotyth now all that ben here
And after schal be leue and dere
That I ihesu of nazareth
For loue of man hath suffred dede
Vp-on a cros with woundys fiue
whilis I was man in herthe alyue
I haue ȝeuyn and made a graunt
to alle that askyn repentant
Heuene blis witowtyn endyng
As longe as I am there hire kyng
Kepe I nomore for alle myn smerte
But the loue man of thyn herte
And that thu be in charite
And loue thi neythburgh [1] as I do the
This is the rente that thow schalt ȝeue me
as to the scheef lorde of the fee
yff ther be ony man that can say now
that I haue not deyd for mannys prow
rather than man schul ben lorne
ȝit wold I efft be alle to torn
wetenesse the day turnyd into the nygh
and the sunne that lost hise lygh
wetenesse the erthe that than dede qwake
and the stonys that al to brake
wetenesse the veyl that dede riue
and men that roos from deth to lyue
Wetenesse myn modyr and seynt John
and other that were ther mony on [2]
In the wetenesse of the qwyche thyng
Myne owne sele ther-to I hyng
And for the more sekernesse
The wounde in my syde the seel it is
This was ȝowyn at Caluerye
The fyrste day of the gret mercy

[1] The transcript reads *thincyth burgh.*

[2] Ms. *monyon.*

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE LONG CHARTER

A-TEXT

THE LONG CHARTER—A-TEXT

RAWL. POET. 175

Ihesus est amor meus

Fol. 94b

Jhesu kyng of heuen & hell
Man & woman I will þe tell

What luf I haue done to þe
And[1] luke what þou has done for me
Of all ioy þou was out pilt
With tresone & with þine awen gylt
ffor þou was dryuen o-way
Als a best þat gase onstray
ffra my ryke I com doune
To seke þe fra toune to toune
Myne herytage þat es so fre
In þi myschef to gyf it þe

ADD. 11307

Fol. 89

Jhesu kyng of heuene and helle
Man and womman I wole þe telle

What loue I haue don to þe
And loke what þou hast don for me
Of alle ioye þou were out pult
With treson and wythoute gult
Pore þou were dryuon a-way
As a best þat goþ on stray
ffro my rych I cam a-doun
To seche þe fro toun to toun
Min erytage þat is so fre
In þi myschef to ȝeuon it þe

BOD. 89

Hic incipit carta *Christi*

Fol. 45

Jhesu crist of heuene and helle
Man and womman I wolle ȝow telle

what loue I haue done to the
looke what loue thou haste don to me
Off alle Ioyes þou were ouȝt pilt
wiþ trosoune and wiþ þi gilt
Pore thou were dreuen away
As a beest þat goþe astray
ffrom heuene riche I come downne
To seche þe from towne to towne
My Erytage þat is so free
In thyn myschieft I ȝeue hit þee

[1] Ms. *Ad.*

THE LONG CHARTER—A-TEXT

HARL. 2346

Fol. 51

Ihesu kyng of heuene & helle
Man & womman y wol ȝow telle
What loue I haue do to þe
Loke what þu hast do for me
Of alle Ioye þu were out pulte
With treson and wiþ-oute gulte
Pore þu were dryuen a-way
As a best þat goþ astray
ffro my riche I cam a-doune
To seche þe fro toune to toune
Myne heritage þat ys so fre
In þy myschif to ȝeue hit þe

ADD. BOD. C. 280

Fol. 124

Ihesu kyng of heuene & helle
Man & woman I ȝow telle
What loue I haue do for þe
Loke what þou hauyst do for me
from ioye þey me vt pelte
Wyth tresoun & wyth-vtyn gelte
Pore & naked þey drefyn me away
As a best þat gayt in stray
ffro my ryche y cam a-doun
To sekyn þe fro toun to toun
Myn heritage þat is so fre
In þi meschef to ȝeuyn it þe

HARL. 5396

What Chryst hath done for us

Fol. 201

Ihesu cryst of heuyn & helle
Men & wemen I wyl ȝou telle
What loue I haue don to þe
Loke what þou hast don to me
from[1] all Ioyes þou ware outspylt
Wyth treson & also with gylt
Pore þou was & dreuyn away
As a best þat gos on stray
ffro heuyn Kyndom I come doun
To seche þe fro toun to town
Myn herytage[2] þat ys so fre
In þy myschyfe I ȝyf y hyt þe

[1] *Of* was first written, then cancelled, and *from* written above it.
[2] The *a* is written below the line.

RAWL. POET. 175

When þat gyft I gyf þe sulde
I did als þe law wolde
Till a mayden I dismetted me
ffor na chalange suld þan be
Wele derely he keped þe & me
Till I my tyme wold se
Fourty wokes & fourty days
To fullfyll þe ald lawes
þe mayden was trew myld & fre
Scho resayued me for þe
Me my manhede & my *grace*
þus come sesyng in-to place
When þe sesyng was done swa
ffull gret envy had þan þi faa
þan belzebub & sathanas
Had gret wonder whi it was
He fanded me *with* felony
With pryde couatyse & glotony
Wele he wist I was a mane
Bot syn in me fand he nane

ADD. 11307

What *þat* ȝefte I ȝeuon sholde
I dede as þe lawe wolde
To a mayde I demytted me
ffor no chalange sholde be
Wel dernely sho kepte me
Tyl I my tyme wolde se
ffourty wokes saue V. dawes
To fulfulle þe olde lawes
þe mayde was trewe mylde & fre
Sho receyued me for þe
By my manhede and my grace
Thus cam sesyng furst in place
Whan *þat* sesyng was y-do
Wel gret envye hadde þanne þi fo
Fol. 89b Tho belsabub and sathanas
Hadde gret wounder whi it was
He fondes me wiþ felonye
Wiþ pryde coueytise and glotenye
Wel he wiste I was a man
But synne in me ne fond he nan

BOD. 89

Whanne I þat ȝeft ȝeue scholde
I dede os the lawe wolde
To a mayden I demede to me
ffor none chalenge scholde be
Wel derwurthly she kept me
Til I my tyme wolde see
ffourty wokes and fourty dayes
To fulfille the olde lawes
That made was mylde and free
She resceyued me for the
Me thi manhode and þi grace
Thus come þis sesynge first in place
Whanne þat sesynge was I-doo
Wele grete enuy hade thy foo
Belsebub and sathanas
hadde grete ferly whi hit was
Fol. 45b Thei fonded me wiþ felonye
Wiþ Couetise and glotonye
Wel thei wiste þat I was man
But synne on me founde þei none

HARL. 2346

13 Whan þat ȝyft I ȝeue þe shulde
I dede as þe lawe wolde
15 To a mayden I ordeyned me
ffor [no] [1] chalinge shuld be
ff[ul wor]þely she kept me & þe
[Tyl y] my tyme wolde y-se
ffourty wykes & fourty dayes
20 To fulfille þe ryȝt lawes
þe maide was mylde trewe & fre
She rekeued boþe me and the
Me þi manhede and þy grace
þus com þe sesyng ferst a place
25 Whan þis sesyng was y-do
Ful gret envye had þan þy fo
þo belsabub and sathanas
Had gret wonder why hit was
þey fonded me *with* felonye
Fol. 51b
30 Wyþ *p*ride couetise and glotenye
Wel he wyst I was a man
32 But synne in me fond he non

ADD. BOD. C. 280

13 Wan þat [2] I þis ȝyfte ȝeue schulde
I dede ryth as þe laue wolde
15 Til a meydyne I hordayn me
ffor *þer* schulde no chaleynge be
fful worthely ȝe kepte both þe & me
Till þat I my tym wolde se
XL wockys & XL dawys
20 ffor to full-fyllyn þe rythe lawys
þe maydyn was trwe mylde & fre
Sche resceuyd both þe & me
þore þi manhot & my *grace*
þus ca*m* þis sesyn fyrst in place
25 or þan þis sesyn was fully do
ffull grete enuye had þa*n* my foo
Belsebub & satanas
þay had grete wondyr what þat it was
. . . . . .
30 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
32 . . . . . .

HARL. 5396

13 When I þat ȝyft ȝyf schulde
I dyd as þe lawe wolde
15 A maydyn I demyd to me Fol. 801b
ffor no chalange schuld be
ffol der-worthly sche kepyd me
Tyl I my tyme wold se
XL wekys & XL dayes
20 To fulfylle þe old lawe
þat mayden was trewe & fre
Sche receyuyd me for þe
ȝyf me þy manhede & þy grace
þus come þat seysyng fyrst i*n* place
25 When þat seysyng was do
ful gret enuy had þy fo
Belsabub & sathanas [3]
Had grete ferly why hyt was
þat asseyed me *with* foly [4]
30 *With* couytyse & gloteny
Wyle he wyst I was a man
32 But synne yn me fonde he non [4]

[1] The letters in this word and in those bracketed in the two next lines are blurred.
[2] Written above the line.
[3] MS. *sathamas*.
[4] Opposite this line in the margin is some writing illegible to the editor.

Rawl. poet. 175	Add. 11307
33 Hard he threted me in his thoght	33 Harde he þratte me in his þouȝt
þat seseyng suld be dere boght	That sesyng sholde ben dere a-bouȝt
35 He sent his sergaunce with maïs-	35 He sente his seruantes with may-
troy	strye
With wa & sorow me to destroy	Wiþ wo and serwe me to distrye
And[1] wele he fand him gayned	Wel he fond hym geyned noȝt
noght	
Ane other help was in my thoght	Another help was in my þouȝt
Mare syker þe to make	More syker þe to make
40 Ogayne þi fa full of wrake	40 Ageyn þi fo ful of wrake
Heuen & erth in present	Heuene and erthe in present
To mak a charter of feffement	To make a chartre of feffement
In slyke a maner bus it be	In such manere byhoueþ to be
þat me bus gyf my lyf for þe	þat I moste ȝyuon my lyf for þe
45 ffor þou ert ded & I am lyfe	45 ffor þou art ded and I am lyf
I most dy to gyf þe lyfe	I mot die to ȝiue þe lyf
Many a way haue I to ga	Many a wey I haue y-go
In hunger & threst & cald all swa	In hunger thurst chele and wo
Thretty wynter & mare þan two	Thritty wynter and mo þer-to
50 Or my ded war I-do	50 Or my dede were y-do
Ne myght I fynd na parchemyne	Ne myȝte I fynde no parchemyn
52 ffor to last with-outen fyne	52 ffor to laston wel and fyn

Bod. 89

33 hard he þrette me in his þought
That seynge scholde be dere bought
35 he sente his seriantes wiþ enuye
wiþ woo and sorow me to destroye
wele he founde him gayned nought
another help was in my tought
More seker the to make
40 agayn thi foo ful of wrake
heuene and Erthe in present
To make a chartre of feffement
In which manere be-houethe to be
That I moste ȝeue my lyf for the
45 ffor thou art dede thorough rief
I moste deye to ȝeue þe lyf
Many a way I haue I-goo
In hunger therst chele and woo
Thratty ȝere and more þanne[2] too
50 Or my dede were fully doo
Ne myght I fynde no parchemyn
52 ffor to laste wiþ-oute fyn

[1] Ms. *Ad* with a final curl. Cf. line 4.

[2] Ms. *þanme*.

HARL. 2346

33 Hard he þretened me in his þouȝt
. . . . . .
35 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Anoþer þing was in my þouȝt
More syker þe to make
40 Agayn þi fo ful of wrake
Heuene & erþe in present
To make a charter of feffement
In suche maner by-houeþ to be
Þat I most ȝeue lyf for þe
45 ffor þu art dede & y am a-lyue
Y most daye to ȝeue þe lyffe
Many a way y haue go
In hunger in þurste chele & wo
XXX wynter & mo þen two
50 Or my chartre was y-do
Ne myȝt þey fynd no parchemyne
52 ffor to laste wyþ-oute fyne

ADD. BOD. C. 280

33 harde þay thretten me in her thoght
Þat þis sesyn schul dere by boght
35 He sent his seruentes wyth enuye
wyth sorow & wo me for to destrye
wel ȝe fundyne hym geynede noght
an-hoþer thyng was in my thoght
wel mor sykyr þe to make
40 agayns þi fo full of wrake
heuene & herth in present
To make a charter of feoffament
In swyche a maner be howit to be
Þat I most ȝeuyn my lyf for þe
2d Col. 45 ffor þou art dede & I am lyf
I most deyn to ȝeuyn lyf
harde gatys he hauyt gone
In hungure & thryst & many wone
XXX wynter & mo þan two
50 or þan þis charter wer fully do
Cowde ye fyndyne no parchemyn
52 Þat wolde lastyn wyth-vtyn fyn

HARL. 5396

33 hard þey thret me in *þer* þoȝt
Þat seysyng schuld be dere boȝt
35 They send her sergant *with* envye
with wo & sorow me to destroye
fful wele he gaynyd noȝt

Another help was yn my þoght
Moore sekyr þe to make
40 Aȝeyn þy foo so full of wrake
heuyn & erthe yn[1] present
To make a chartur of fefment
In syche a maner hyt behouys to be
Þat I must ȝeue my lyfe for þe
45 ffor þou dyed þugh synne ryfe
I must dye to ȝyf þe lyfe
Many a way I haue goo
[y]n hungyr thyrst colde &
mekyll woo
Fol. 802 Thrytty ȝere & more þen two
50 Or my deth was ydo
I myght fynde no parchemyne[2]
52 ffor to last *with* out fyne

[1] Ms. þn
[2] Ms. parchemyñ, the *n* having been written over something erased.

	Rawl. poet. 175		Add. 11307
53	Bot als luf bad me do	Fol. 92	But as loue bad me do
	Myne awen skyn I toke þar-to		Myn owne skyn y ȝaf þer to
55	To gett me frendes I gaf gud mede	55	To gete me frendes I ȝaf god mede
	So dose þe pore þat has gret nede		So doþ þe pore þat haþ gret nede
	On a thursday a sopere I made		Vn a thoresday a soper y made
	Both frende & fa to make þam glade		Boþe frend and fo to maky glade
	With mete & drynk to saule fode		Wiþ mete and drynk to soule fode
60	With haly word my flesch & blode	60	Wiþ holy word my flesch and blode
	Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem		This I made for mankynde
	þis I made for mankynde		Mi loue-dedis to haue in mynde
	My luf-dedes to haue in mynde		*Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem*
	Or I fra þe bord rase		Or I fro þe bord aras
	Of my frend betrayd I wase		Of my frend betrayd y was
65	He fand me gangand in þe way	65	He fond me goyng in þe way
	Als þe lyon gase to his pray		As þe lyon goþ tyl his pray
	Susceperunt me sicut leo[*paratus ad*] *pre*[*dam*]		*Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus ad predam*
67	A kyrtell I had & clathes ma	67	A kirtel I hadde and cloþes mo
	And sone I had all for-ga		Ac alle I hadde sone for-go
	þan had I þis charter wryten		Tho þei haddon þis chartre writon
70	þan was I nakend wele may yhe wyten		Tho was I nakud wel mowe ȝe wyton
	þai kest lote als wald bi-fall		They caston lot as wolde by-falle
72	Whether ane suld haue all or parten all	72	Wheþer on shold hau al or parton alle

	Bod. 89
	But as loue badde me doo
	Myn owene skynne I toke þerto
55	To gete me frendes I ȝaf grete mede
Fol. 46	As dothe the pore þat hath grete nede
	On a thursday a feste I made
	ffrende and foo to make glade
	wiþ mete and drinke to sowle foode
60	wiþ holy wordes my flesshe and blood
	This I made for mankynde
62	My loue-dedes to haue in mynde
63	. . . . .
	. . . . .
	. . . . .
66	. . . . .
	Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus ad predam
67	A kyrtill I hadde clothes moo
68	alle I hadde sone for-goo .
	. . . . .
70	. . . . .
	. . . . .
72	. . . . .

HARL. 2346	ADD. BOD. C. 280
53 But as loue bade me to do	53 But as gret loue bad me do
Myne owne skyn y tok *þer*-to	Myn houene skyne I toke *þer*-to
55 To gete my frendes y ȝaf good mede	55 . . . . .
So doþ þe pore þat haþ gret nede	. . . . .
On a þursday a soper y made	vpon a thursday a sopere I made
ffrend & fo to make glade	frend & fo to makyn all glade
With mete & drinke to soule fode	wyth metys & drynkys sowle fode
60 *With* holy word my fleysh and blode	60 with holy word*ys* my flesch & my blode
þis I made for mankynde	all þis I dyde for mankynde
My loue-dedys to haue in mynde	62 My loue-dedys to haue*n* in mynde
Fol. 52 *hoc facite in meam commemoracionem*	. . . . .
Or I fro þe bord a-ros	. . . . .
Of my frend by-traied y was	. . . . .
65 He fonde me goande in þe way	65 . . . . .
As þe lyon goþ to his pray	. . . . .
A curtel I had & cloþes mo	. . . . .
Alle y hadde sone for-go	. . . . .
þey þat had þis chartre wryten	. . . . .
70 þo was y naked wel mow ȝe wyten	70 . . . . .
þey casten lot as wold by-falle	. . . . .
Whether on shuld haue or parten alle	. . . . .

HARL. 5396

53 But as loue bad me do	63 Or I fro þe borde ras
Myne owen skyn I toke *per* to	Of my frend betrayed I was
55 To gete me frendys I ȝaf gret mede	65 They toke me goyng yn þe way
As doth þe pore *þat* hath nede	As a lyon gos to hys pray
On a thersday a feste I made	*Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus*
ffrende & foo to make glade	*Ad predam*
With mete & drynk to soule fode	A kyrtyl I had & not a cloth mo
60 *With* holy wordys my flesh & blode[1]	68 All I had sone forgo
Thys I made for mankynde	. . . . .
My loue dedys to haue yn mynde	70 . . . . .
Hoc facite[2] *in meam commemoracionem*[3]	. . . . .
	72 . . . . .

[1] The *o* is written below the line.

[2] *Hoc facyte* cancelled, and *Hoc facite* written above.

[3] Ms. *commenorationem.*

RAWL. POET. 175	ADD. 11307
73 ffrend & fa þat with me meten	73 ffrend and fo þat with me metton
In my most nede all me leten	In my nede alle me for-letton
75 Till a pyler I was pyght	75 To a pyler I was plyȝt
Tuged & tawed all a nyght	I tugged and tawed al a nyȝt
And waschen in myne awen blode	Fol. 92b And waschon in myn ovne blod
And straytely strened on þe rode	And streyte y-streyned vpon þe rod
Streyned to dry on þe rode tre	Streyned to drye vp-on a tre
80 Als parchemyne aw for to be	80 As parchemyn oveth for to be
Here now & yhe sall wyten	Hereth now and ȝe shulle weton
How þis charter[1] was wryten	Hou þis chartre was y-wryton
Opon my neese was made þe ynk	Vpon my neb was mad þe enke
With Iewes spyttyng on me to stynk	Of iewes spotel on me to stynke
85 þe pennes þat þe lettr was with wryten	85 The pennes þat þe lettres wryton
was of skourges þat I was with smyten	Weron scories þat I wiþ was smyton
Fol. 95 How many lettres þare-on bene	Hou many lettres þer-on ben
Rede & þou may wyten & sene	Red and þou maist weton and sen
ffyue thowsand four hundreth fyfty & ten	ffive thousand CCCC fifty and ten
90 woundes on me bath blak & wen	90 Woundes on me boþe rede and wen
Quinque millia CCCC.mo L. X.	
To schew yhow all my luf-dede	To shew ȝou alle my loue-dede
92 Mi-self I will þis chartre rede	92 Miself I was þe chartre rede

BOD. 89

73 ffrende and foo þat wiþ me eten	The Iewes fel wiþ grete swynke
In[2] my nede alle from me ȝeden	Of my bloode made þei ynke
75 To a piler I was pight	85 The pennes þat lettres wreten
Tuggyd and drawen alle a nyȝt	was schorges þat he was wiþ smyte
and wasshen me myn owen bloode	how many lettres þer-on ben
and strayned me strayet on þe rode	Rede and thou may wete and sene
I-strayned to dethe on a tree	a þousannd .iiij. c and fyfti and teen
80 as parchemyn owiþe to be	Fol. 46b wondes on me bothe rede and wan
here hit now and ȝe shull wete	To she ȝow alle my dede
how þis Chartre was I-wrette	92 My self wil this Chartre welle rede

[1] Ms. *chaster.*

[2] Ms. *Im.*

HARL. 2346		ADD. BOD. C. 280
73 ffrend & fo þat wyþ metten	73	. . . . .
In my nede alle me for-leten		. . . . .
75 To a pilour y was pyȝt	75	. . . . .
I tugged and towed al a nyȝt		. . . . .
And waschen on myn owne blode		. . . . .
And [str]eyȝt y streyned on þe rode		. . . . .
S[trey]ned to drye on a tre		. . . . .
80 As *par*chemyne ouȝt for to be	80	. . . . .
Hyreþ now & ȝe shul wyten		. . . . .
How þis chartre was wryten		. . . . .
Vpon my face was made þe ynke		. . . . .
With Iewes spotel on me to stynke		. . . . .
85 þe penne þat þe lett*er*es was *with* wryten	85	. . . . .
Of scorges þat I was *with* smyten		. . . . .
How many l*ett*res *þer*-on bene		. . . . .
Rede and þu myȝt wyte and sene		. . . . .
.V. þousand .iiij c. fyȝfty and ten		. . . . .
Fol. 52ᵇ 90 Wondes on me boþe blac and wan	90	. . . . .
To shewe ȝow al my loue-dede		To scheue ȝow all my loue-dede
92 My-silf y wol þis chartre rede	92	My-self will I þis chart*er* rede

HARL. 5396	
73 ffrend & foo þ*at* *with* me etyn	83 þe Iowys fell *with* gret swynk
In my nede for geton [1]	Of my blode þey madyn ynke
Fol. 302ᵇ 75 To a peler I was pyȝt	85 þe pennys þ*at* þe lettrys dyd wryte
Tuggyd & drawyn all a nyȝt	Where skoges *with* whych þay dyd me smyt
And washyn yn myn owen bloode	How many lettrys þer-on ben
And strayste straynyd vp-on þe rode	Rede & [2] þu may wyt & sen*e*
Straynyd I was upon a tre	V m CCCC seuyty & V
80 As pa[r]chemyn owyth to be	90 Wyndys [3] I suffyrd here yn my lyfe
Hereyt now & ȝe schall wyt	To schewe ȝou my lofe-dede
How þys chart*er* was I-wryt	92 My-selfe wyl þys chart*er* rede

[1] This line is twice written in the margin, as follows:
a) In my nede for getone
b) Al þei had me for yety[n]
An imperfection in the parchment has destroyed most of the line in the text.
[2] Above the line.
[3] MS. ꝺ wyndys.

RAWL. POET. 175

yhe men þat gase bi þis way
Abydes & lokes on me to-day
And redes on þis parchemyne
If any sorow be lyke to myne
O uos omnes qui transitis per uiam
attendite & uidete & cetera
Standes & here þis charter red
Whi I am wounded & all forbled
Sciant presentes & futuri & cetera
wytt yhe þat bene & sall be-tyde
I Ihesu crist *with* blody syde
þat was born in bethleem
And offerd in-to Ierusalem
þe kyng son[1] of heuen oboufe
With my fader will and lufe
Made a sesyng when I was born
To þe mankynd þat was forlorn
With my chartre here present
I mak now confirmament
þat I haue graunted & gyfen
To þe mankynd *with* me to lyfen
In my rewme of heuen blys
To haue & hald *with*outen mys

ADD. 11307

ȝe men þat gon forþ by the weye
Abideth and lokeþ *with* ȝoure ye
And redeþ on þis þarchemyn
ȝif eny serwe be lyk to myn
O uos omnes qui transitis per viam
*attend*ite [rad
Wiþstondeþ and hereþ þis chartre
Whi I am wounded an al for-blad
Sciant presentes & futuri &c
Witeth ȝe þat ben and shul betyde
I ihesu crist *with* blody syde
Fol. 93 That was born in bedlem
And offred in-to Iherusalem
þe kynges sone of heuene a-boue
Wiþ my fader wille and loue
Made a sesyng whan I was born
To þe mankynde þat was for-lorn
Wiþ my chartre here in present
I make heron confirmament
That I haue granted and y-ȝeue
To þe mankynde *with* me to leue
In my revme of heuon blisse
To haue & to holden *with*outen
mysse

BOD. 89

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
O vos omnes qui transitis per viam
attendite & videte etc
wiþstonde and here the chartre
rede
whi I am wonded and for-blede
Sciant presentes & futuri &c
wete ȝe þat ben and shall be-tyde
I ihesu wiþ wondes wyde
That was born in Bedelem
and Offred into Ierusalem
The kynges sone of heuene aboue[2]
wiþ myn fadre wille and loue
Made a feffynge whanne I was
borne
To mankynde þat was for lorlorne
wiþ my Chartre her in present
I make here a confirmement
That I haue graunt and I-geue
wiþ my kynde for to leue
In my regne of heuene blis
To haue and to holde wiþ-ouȝt mys

[1] Ms. *kyngson*

[2] *awowe* cancelled and *aboue* interlined.

HARL. 2346.

93 Ye men þat goþ by þe way
A bideþ & lokeþ wyþ ȝoure ey
95 And redeþ on þis parchemyn
Is þer be any sorwe like to myn
O uos omnes qui transitis per *viam attendite &c*
ȝet stondeþ & hireþ þis chartre red
Whi I am wonded & al for-bled

Sciant presentes et futuri &c
Wyte ȝe þat ben and shull be-tyde
100 Ihesu crist wyth blody syde
þat was bore in bethleem
And offred in to Ierusalem
þe kinges sone of heuene a-boue
Wyþ my fader wyl and loue
105 Made a sesyng whan y was born
To þe mankinde þat was for-lorn
Wyþ my chartre here present
I make now confirmament
þat I haue graunted & y-ȝeue
110 To þe mankynde *with* þe to leue
On my reme of heuene blisse
112 To haue & holde wyþ-oute mysse

ADD. BOD. C. 280

93 ȝe man & woman þat goyt be þe way
abidis & loke vp with ȝowr ey
95 Redyn vpon þis parchemyne
ȝyf any sorow likith to myne
. . . . . .
[rede
with-stondyt & hereyt þis charter
how I am for-wondid & all for-blede
. . . . . .
y-wetyd ȝe þat beth & schul betydyn
100 þat I ihesu crist wyth blody sydyne
þat was borne in bedlem
& offerid vp in to ierusalem
þe kyngys sone heye[2] a-boue
with my faderys wil & loue
105 I made a sesyn wan I was borne
To þe mankynde þat was forlorne
with my charter her in present
I made to þe a confyrment
þat I graunte & I ȝeue
110 To þe mankynd wyth me to leue
In my regne of heuene blys
112 To hauyne & holdyne with-vtyn
mys

HARL. 5396

93 . . , ...
. . . . . .
95 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
O uos omnes qui transytis per *viam attendite &c*
97 Stond stylle & here þys chart red
Why I am wovndyd & forbled
S[*c*]*iant presentes & futuri*[1]
Wit ȝe þat ben & scha betyde
100 I ihesu *with* wovnndes wyde
Fol. 303 þat was born yn bedlem

102 And offyrd ynto Ierusalem
The kynges sone of hevuyn Aboue
With my fader wele by-loue
105 Made a fefment whay I was borne
To mankynde þat was forlorn
With my charter here yn present
I made here a conferment
þat I haue grauntyd for to gyf
110 *With* mankynde for to leue
In my reme of heuyn blysse
To haue & to holde *with*-owtyn
mysse

[1] Ms. *futuere.*

[2] Written *he ye.*

	RAWL. POET. 175		ADD. 11307
113	In a condicioune if þou be kynde	113	In a condicioun ȝif þou be kynde
	And my luf-dedes haue in mynde		And my loue-dedes haue in mynde
115	ffre to haue & fre to hald	115	ffre to haue and fre to holde
	With all þe purtenaunce to wald		Wiþ al þe purtinaunce to wolde
	Myne erytage þat es so fre		Min erytage þat is so fre
	ffor homage ne for fewte		ffor homage ne for fewte
	Na mare will I ask of þe		No more wole I aske of þe
120	Bot a foure leued gryss yheld þou me	120	But a four leued gras to ȝelde me
	A lefe es soth fast schryft		That on lef is opon shryft
	þe tother es for syn hert smyrt		That oþer thin herte to smerte skyft[1]
	þe thred I will no mare do swa		The tridde I wole namore don so
	þe ferth dred god whare so þou ga		The ferde drede god euermo
125	When þir four leues to-gyder er sett	125	Whan þuse leues to-gydere ben set
	A trew luf men clepes ett		A trewe loue men clepon it
	Of þis rent be noght be-hynd	Fol. 93b	Of this rente be not be-hynde
	ffor all þe yhere þou may it fynd		ffor thorȝ þe ȝer þou may it fynde
	Els may yhe seke it in my wound		Or elles seche it in my wounde
130	ffor þare may trew luf ay be found	130	ffor þere may trewe loue ben founde
	All if yhe fall & gretly mystake		Thaw þou be falle and gretly mystake
132	Mi ded I will neuer forsake	132	Mi dede wol I not forsake

BOD. 89

113	In condicioune ȝif thou be kynde		The fourthe drede me euere mor
	And my loue-dedes haue in mynde	125	whanne thise to-gydre sitte
115	ffree to haue and fre to holde		A trewe loue men clepyn hit
	wiþ alle þe purtenaunce to wolde		Off þis be nouȝt be-hynde
	Myn Erytage þat is so free		ffor thorowe þe ȝere thou may hit fynde
	ffor homage ne for feaute		
	Nomore wolle I aske of the		Or to seche hit in my wonde
120	A foure leued gresse ȝilde thou me	130	ffor there may trewe love be founde
Fol. 47	That oon leef is shrift of herte		ȝif thou be fallen and gretely mys-take
	That oþere for synne hert smyrt		
	The thridde in wille nomore do so	132	My dede wolle I not for-sake

[1] An upward curl on the line crossing the *t* of this word is evidently due to an attempt to make at the same time with the last letter the upper mark of a colon. The same attempt may be seen at the end of many lines.

HARL. 2346	ADD. BOD. C. 280
113 In a condicioun if þou be kinde	113 In a condicioun *þat* þou be kynde
And my loue-dedes haue *in* mynde	My loue-dedys *þat* þou haue in mynde
115 ffre to haue & fre to holde	Fol. 124b ffor to hauyn & for to holdyne
Fol. 53 With al þe purtenaunce to wolde	wyth all pertinance for to woldyne
My heritage þat is so fre	Myn heritage þat is so fre
ffor homage ne for feute	for homage ne for feute
No more wol I aske of þe	But no more wil I askyn of þe
120 A foure leued gras þu ȝeld to me	120 But a iiij leuede gras *þat* þou grante me
þat o leef is soþfast shryft	þat on it is sothfastly schryfte
þat oþer for synne hert smert	þat other it is senne haue sorow
þe þrydde I wol no more do so	þe iij it is þat i nyl no mor do so
þe ferþe drede god euer mo [sett	þe iiij it is dred god & loue hym euer mo [schete
125 When þes foure leues to-gedre ben	125 when þes iiij leues to-gedire be
A trewe loue men clepeþ hit	a trwloue þan man clepyt hyt
Of þis rente be noȝt by-hynde	þer-for pay þi rent be nawht be-hyndyne
ffor þourȝ þe ȝere þu may hit fynde	for þrow[3] þe ȝer þou myth grace fyndyne [wonde
Els may ȝe se in my wounde	þan mayst þou wel sen in my
130 ffor þer may trew loue be founde	130 þat þar may trwloue ben I-funde
þouȝ þu falle gretly mystake	þoth þou fall & gretly mystake
132 My dede wol I neuer forsake	132 My loue-dedys sall I neuer forsake

HARL. 5396

113 In condicion yf þou be kynde	þe forte drede me euyr mo
My loue dedes to haue yn mynde	125 Whan thyse leuys to-gedyr be knytt
115 ffre to haue & ffre to hold	A trew loue men clepyn hyt
with[2] all þe appertynantise wolde	Of þys rent be not be-hynde
In myne heretage þat ys so fre	ffor þorow þe ȝere þou may hyt fynde
ffor homage ne for fewette	Or ellys take hyt in my wovnde
No more wolde I aske of þe	þer may þe trewe loue be fownde
120 But a faure[3] leuyd gres þou ȝyf me	yf þou be fallyn yn mys-tayle
þat on lef ys loue of hert	132 My dede wyl þe not a-vayle
þat othyr for synne penans smert	
Fol. 203b The thyrd I wyl nomore do so	

[1] Obscure in MS.
[2] *And* deleted before *with*.
[3] The *u* is written above the line.
[4] MS. *prow*.

RAWL. POET. 175

If þou be amend & mercy craue
þine herytage yhit sall þou haue
þe seles þat it es seled withe
þai war grauen on a stythe
Of gold ne syluer war þai noght
Of stele & yren war þai wroght
With þe spere of stele my hert þai strungen
Thurgh my hert & my longen
Irens[1] nayles thirld me
Thurgh fete & handes to þe tre
þe selyng wax was dere aboght
At my hert rote it was soght
And tempyrd all *with* vermelyoune
Of my blode þat ran adoune
ffactum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens &c . . . .
Fyue seles war sett þare-on
Of fader & son god & man
þe first es for to leue maste
þat I come of þe haly gaste
In playn power þi state to make
And coroun of my heued to take

ADD. 11307

ȝif þou amendy and mercy craue
Thyn erytage shalt þou haue
The selus þat it was seled wiþ
They weron grauon on a stiþ
Of gold ne seluer ne ben þei noȝt
Of styl and yron þey weron wroȝt
Wiþ spere of stil myn herte þei stongon
Thorw myn herte and my longon
Iron nailes thrilledon me
Thorw fet & hand to þe tre
The selyng wax was dere abouȝt
At myn herte rote it was souȝt
And tempred al wiþ vermylon
Of my blod þat ran a-doun
ffactum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens &c
ffyue seles weron set þeran
Of fader and sone god and man
The fifte þat is to leue most
That I cam of þe holy gost
In playn power þi stat to make
A corone on myn hed haue I take

BOD. 89

So þat þou amende and mercye craue
Thyn Erytage þou shalt haue
The seles þat I was seled wiþ
Thei were grauen on a stithe
Offgolde and sylvere were þei nouȝt
But of Iren and stele I-wrought
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Iren nayles threlede me [tree
Thorough hand and foot in-to þe
The Selynge wax dere bought
atte myn herte rote I-soughte
Tempred wiþ wermyloun
Of my bloode þat run adoune
ffactum est cor meum tanquam[2] *cera liquescens in medio ventris mei*
Iren nayles were sete there thanne
On fader and sone god and man
The first þat þou leue moste
That I come of þe holy gooste
wiþ playn power þy state to make
a Croune opone heuede I take

Fol. 47b

[1] Thus the MS.

[2] The final letter is blurred by a crease in the manuscript.

HARL. 2346

133 If þu amende and mercy craue
þyn heritage truly shalt þu haue
135 þe seel þat hit is seled with
þei weren graued upon a styth
Of gold ne syluer were þei noȝt
Of styel & yren þey were wrouȝt
With spere of stile my hert þey stongen
140 þourȝ myne herte and my longen
þre nailes þurled me
þourȝ feet & hondes to þe tre
þe selyng wexe was dere bouȝt
Fol. 52 At myn herte rote y-souȝt
145 And tempred al with vermyloun
Of my blode þat ran doun
ffactum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens &c
ffyue seles were y-sett þer-an
Of fader & sone god & man
þe fyfþe ys for to loue most
150 þat I cam of þe holy gost
In pleyn powere þy state to make
152 A signe on myn hed y take

ADD. BOD. C. 280

133 ȝyf þou þe amende & mercy craue
þin heritage sall þou haue
135 þes selys *þat* þis charter were selyde witht
þai weryne wroght vp-on a styf
Of gold ne of siluer wer þai nath
But of stel & heryn þai wroght
wyth spere of stel I was stongyne
140 þrow myn hert lyuer & longyne
heryne neyles þerleden me
Thorgh fot & handys þer till a tre
þe selyng wex was dere a-bowth
144 þrow my hert rot[2] it sowth
þat was tempered all wyth wermylione [adone[3]
þat was myn hert blod þat ran
V sely were set þer vp-one
of fadyre & sone god & mane
þe V is to be-leue most
150 þat he cam of þat holy gost
In pleyn power for to makyne
152 a corone of myn hed I takyne

HARL. 5396

133 Tyl þou mede & mercy craue
Myne herytage þou schalt not haue
135 þe selys þat I was selyd wyth
They were grauyn on þe styth[1]
Of gold ne syluyr were þey noȝt
138 but of yryn & stele wete þey wroȝt
. . . . . .
140 . . . . . .
Yryn naylys thyrlyd me
142 Thorow hand & fote vnto þe tre
143 þe selyng wax was dere boȝt
And at my hert rote hyt was soȝt
145 Tempryd all wyth vermylon
Of my blode þat ran down
ffactum est cor meum tan quam rera[4] *liquescens &c*
Fol. 304 Iron nayles were set þer than
On fader & sone god & mane
þe fyrst þat þou leue most
150 þat I com of þe holy gost
Wyth pleyn power þy state to make
152 A crovne upon my hede to take

[1] Between v. 135 and v. 136, "Of yryn & stele were þey wroȝt" is cancelled.
[2] Written *r'ot*. [3] *a* above the line. [4] Ms. seems to be *rera*.

	Rawl. poet. 175		Add. 11307
153	Of thornes in takenyng þat I am kyng	Fol. 95 153	Of thornes in token þat I am kyng
	And frely may gyf þe þi thing		And frely may ȝyuon my þyng
155	þis witnes þe Iewes all	155	This witnessen þe iewes alle
	On knes to me þai gan doune fall		On knes to me þey gonne doun falle
	And lowd cryed on þair skornyng		And loude cryede in hure scornyng
	Hail be þou lord of Iewes kyng		Heyl be þou lord of Iewes kyng
	Betwene twa men þis was seled		By-twene to men þis was y-seled
160	Bath war seke þe tane I heled	160	Boþe weron syke þat on I helud
	Be-twene twa theues on hegh I-pyght		By-twene to þefes on hy y-pyȝt
	In takenyng þat I was man of myght		In tokon þat I was man of myȝt [hulle
	þat north & west on hegh hyll		That north and west on wilde
	þat I may deme bath gud & ill		þat I may iugge boþe gode and ylle
	Q[uia neque] ab oriente neque ab occidente &c.		*Quia neque ab oriente neque ab &c.*
165	I thirsty was & full sore swongen	165	Aþorst I was ful sore y-swonke
	þe berygge most nede be drongen		þe beuerache moste neþes ben þronke
	A luf-drynk I ask of þe		A loue-drynk I asked of þe
	Ayzell & gall þai gaf to me		Eysel and galle þou ȝeue me
Fol. 95b	*Hijs testibus* mathew & Ione		*Hijs testibus* Matheus and Iohan
170	Luke & Marke & many one	170	Luk Mark and many on
	And namely my moder swete		And namely my moder swete
172	ffor scho left neuer teres to lete	172	ffor she lufte neuer teres lete

Bod. 89

153	Of thornes in tokenyng þat I am kynge		*Quia neque ab oriente neque ab occidente &c*
	and frely may ȝeue alle þinge	165	Of threste I was sore be-swonke
155	This wittenessith Iwis all		The beuerage moste nede be dronke
	On knees to me thei gan falle		A leef drinke I axed of þe
	and a-lowede crie on hir scornynge	168	Eysell an and galle thei ȝaf me
	welcome be thou Iwys kynge	a	This wittenesse þe Iewes alle
	Betwene too men I was seled	b	On knees to me þei gan falle [1]
160	Boþe were seke þe ton heled		and also wittenessith Mathew and Iohn
	Betwene too þeues on highe pight		
	That I of alle men myght haue a siȝt	170	luke marke and many one
	That Est and west on wilde hille		and namely my moder swete
	I may Iuge bothe goode and elle	172	ffor she left neuere teres to wepe

[1] Repetition of lines 155-6 above.

HARL. 2346

153 Of þornes bi-tokenyng þat I am king
And frely may ȝeue al þing
155 Wytnesse of þe Iewes alle
On knees to me þey gon falle
And loude cried on her scornying
Hail be þu lord & Iewes kyng
By-twyne two men þis was y-seled
160 Boþe were sike þat on y heled
By-twyne two þefes on hye I-pyȝt
In tokne þat I was man of myȝt
þat north & west on hye hulle
þat I may deme boþe good & ylle
Quia neque ab oriente neque ab occidente, &c
165 A þurst I was ful sore y-swonke
þe beuerage most nedes be dronke
A loue drynke I asked of þe
A ysel and galle þey ȝaue to me
Hiis testibus Matheu and Iohn
170 Luk. Mark. and many on
Fol. 54 And namely my moder swete
172 ffor she lefte neuer terys to wepe

ADD. BOD. C. 280

153 Of thornis in tokynyng þat I kyng
& frely may ȝeue þe my thynge
155 þis wytnessit þe ieuys all
2d Col. vpon her knys þay can doun fall
fful loude þe cridene in her scornynge
heil be þou lorde & ieuis kynge
Betwen two men þis dede was selyde
160 Boþe wer sek þat one was heylyde
Be-twen two ieuys heye pyth
In tokenyng þat I am man of myth
norw & west on heye helle
þat I may demyn boþe goode & ylle
Quia neque ab oriente neque ab occidente, &c
165 a-prost I was & sor swynkyne
þis beuerache most nedys be dronkyne
a loue drynk I askede of þe
heysell & galle þou ȝeue yt me
þis wytnessyt mathe[?] & Ione
170 luk & mark & many one
Namelech my modyr swete
172 for sche left neuer terys to lete

HARL. 5396

153 Of thornys yn tokyn þat kyng
And frely may ȝeve all thyng
155 þys wettenes þe iewys alle
On knes to 'me þey con falle
And lowd cryed yn her scornyng
Wilcom be þe Iewys kyng
159 By twene ij theuys I was seld [1]
161 Be twene ij theuys on hygh was I pyȝt
160 þe t[other] was seke & I hym helyd [1]
162 þat all men on me [2] myȝt haue syȝt [3]
þat est & west on wylde hylle
I am Iuge both of god & ylle
Quia neque ab oryente neque ab occident &c
165 for thyrst I was ful sore byswonke
þe beuerage most nede by dronke
Fol. 304b A lytyl drynk I askyd of þe
168 Aysyll & galle þou gaf me
a þys wytnesse þe Iewys alle [4]
b On knes to me þy con falle
And also beryng wetnesse mathu & Iohn
170 luke marke & othyr many one
And namely my modur swete
172 ffor sche left neuyr terys to lete

[1] Lines 159 and 160 cancelled in MS.
[2] The following couplet written at the bottom of the page is marked for insertion between lines 162 and 163:
"þe toþer was seke & hym helyd
The toþer in my charter was not selyd."
[3] Above the line.
[4] See note preceding page.

RAWL. POET. 175

Ar þis chartre wryten was
ffull oft scho said allas allas
So bare I was of wordes gude
When I suld dy on þe rode
þat I had noght wharof to take
Mi testament whare-of to make
Bot of my lefe moder & dere
Scho stode bi me *with* a sorowfull chere
When I to my cosyn hir bi-toke
Scho kest me many a sorowful luke
In knawlegyng I made a cry
Pater lamazabathany
Be-hald now men *with* hert & eghe
ffor yh*our* luf how I sall degh
Consummatum est þis chartre es done
Man þou has ou*er*-comen þi fone
To hell I went þis chartre to schew
Be-for þi fa sathanas þ*at* schrew
þan he was schent & broght to ground
With nayles bored & speres wound

ADD. 11307

Or þis chartre wryto was
Wel ofte sho seyde alas alas
So bare I was of wordles god
Whan I sholde deye vpon þe rod
þ*at* I ne hadde wher to take
My testament wherof to make
Fol. 95b But of my moder lef and dere
Sho stod by me *with* reuful chere
Whan I my cosyn hure bytok
Sho caste me many a sory lok
In cnowlychynge I made a cry
Pater lamazabatany
Byhold now man wiþ herte and ye
ffor thy loue how I shal dye
Consummatum þis chartre is don
Man þou hast ou*er*come þi fon
To helle I went þis chartre to shewe
By-fore þi fo sathanas þe shrewe
Tho was he shent and broȝt to grounde
Wiþ nailes bore and speres wounde

BOD. 89

Or þis Chartre wreten was
Oft sche saide allas allas
Fol. 48 So bare I was of worldes goode
Thanne I deyede on þe rode
That ne hadde where-to to take
My testament where-of to take
But my leef moder dere
She stoude by me wiþ rufull chiere
whenne I to my Cosyn here tok[e1]
Sche kest vp many a sory looke
In knowynge I made a cry
Pater lamazabatany
Beholde man wiþ hert and eye
ffor þi loue now shall I deye
Consummatum est this Chartre is now doon*e*
Man þou hast ou*er*ecome þi foon*e*
To helle I went this chartre to shewe
To-for thi foo sathanas þ*at* shrewe
he was shent and brouȝt to grounde
Thurgh nayles bore and speres wounde

[1] *e* is indicated here, but hidden by a fold in the paper.

HARL. 2346	ADD. BOD. C. 280
173 Or þis chartre y-writen[1] was	173 Or þis charter wrytyn was
fful ofte she seyde allas allas	ful oftyn sche seyd allas allas
175 So bare I was of worlych good	175 So bar þat was of wordys goode
When I shuld dey vpon þe rood	wan þat I schulde deyn vpon þe rode
þat I nadde wher-to to take	þat I ne hade werof to takyn
My testament where-on[2] to make	My testament for to makyne
But of my leef moder dere	But of my leue modyr dere
180 She stode by me with sorful chere	180 sche stod be me wyth sory chere
Whan I my cosyn hir by-toke	Wan þat I my cosyn here be-tok
She cast on me many a sory loke	sche cast vp-on me many rewful look
In knowleche y made a cry	In knouelachyng y mad a cry
Pater lamazabatany	*Pater lamabazatany*
185 By-hold now man with herte & ye	185 Be-holde man wyth hert & eye
ffor [3] loue how I shal dye	ffor þi [4] how I schall deye
Consummatum þis chartre is done	þis charter is done [foyne
Man þu hast ouer-come þi foon	Man þou hast ouer-comyn þin
To helle y wente þis chartre to shewe	To helle I went þis charter to scheuyn
190 By-fore sathanas þat olde shrewe	190 be-for þi fone satan þe schreue
þat he was shent & brouȝt to grounde	þat he was cast & broght to grunde
192 With nailes bore and speres wonde	192 wyth neylys bore & sperys wonde

HARL. 5396	
173 Or þys charter wretyn was	*Pater lamazabathanye*
Oftyn sche seyd allas allas	185 But hold man with hert & eye
175 So bare I was of worldys gode	ffor þy loue now schal I dye
þen I dyed upon þe rede	þys charter ys now all don
þat þen had noght[5] wherwith to take	Man þu hast ouyrecome þy fone
My testament where-wyth to make	Fol. 305 To helle I went þis chartre to schewe
But of my leve modur dere	190 Before þy fo sathanas þat schrewe
180 Sche stode by me with rufull chere	he was schent & broȝt to grovnde
þen I my cosyn hur be-toke	192 Thorow naylys bore & sperys wovnde
Sche hast up many a sory loke	
In swonyng y made a crye	

[1] Immediately following this in the MS. is a *y* cancelled.
[2] *h* written above the line.
[3] The word in this space is blurred.
[4] Blank space in MS.
[5] Above the line.

RAWL. POET. 175	ADD. 11307
193 A strayt couand made þare was	193 A scrit[2] of couenaunt I-mad *þer* was
Bi-twene me & Sathanas	By-twene me and sathanas
195 All my catell to haue o-way	195 Al my catel to haue away
Þat he reft *with*[1] fals pray	That he me rafte *with* fals fray
O-gayne I come & made a feste	Agayn y com and made a feste
Omang þe mast & þe leste	Among þe leste and þe meste
A-party men þan gan knaw me	Aparty þo men gonne knowe me
200 *Þat* I was man of gret pouste	200 That I was man of gret pouste
Þat fest lasted fourty dawes	That feste lesteþ fourty dawes
To do men knaw my new lawes	To do men knowe my newe lawes
Þat fest was all of ioy & blys	That feste was of ioye and blis
Þat Pasch day yhit called es	That esterday ȝet y-cleped ys
205 Ane endenture I left *with* þe	205 On endenture I lafte *with* þe
Þat eu*er* þou suld syker be	That euere þou sholdest syker be
In p*re*stes handes my flesch & blode	Fol. 97 In prestes hond my flesch and blod
Þat for þe dyed on þe rode	That for þe dyed vpon þe rod
And my kay I toke all-so	A by keþe[3] I tok þe also
210 In taken *þat* I was vndo	210 The tokene *þat* I was onne y-do
To bere *with* þe whare so þou go	To bere wiþ þe were so þou go
212 Þan thar þe noght dred þi fo	212 Thanne þar þe not drede of þi fo

BOD. 89

193 A Chartre of couenauntes made was	That feste was of Ioye and blys
Betwene me and sathanas	Fol. 48b That pasche day cleped is
195 Alle my cataill to haue a-way	205 On endenture I laft wiþ þe
That he me reft wiþ his fals pray	That eu*er*e thou scholdest seke be
aȝein I cam and a feste	In preestes honde my fflesshe and blod
a-monge the meeste and the leste	That for þe deyde on þe rode
Thanne atte þe firste men gan know me	a bykeye I toke þe also
200 That I was man of grete postee	210 The Tokyn þat I was on doo
. . . . .	To bere wuþ the where thou goo
. . . . .	212 Thanne dar*e* the nouȝt drede þi foo

[1] A second *with* also occurs.

[2] MS. *Ascrit*.

bykweþe?—see Glossary.

HARL. 2346

A wryt of couenaunt I-made þer was
By-twyne me and sathanas
Al my catel to haue a-way [pray
þat he me rauesched with fals
A-ȝen y come and made a feste
Among alle boþe mest and leste
Fol. 54b A-party men þo gunne knowe me
þat I was man of gret pouste
þe feste laste fourty dawes
To do men knowe my newe lawes
þe feste was al of Ioye and blisse
þat ȝesterday ȝet holden ys
On endenture y laft with þe
þat oueral þu shuldest siker be
In prestes hond my flesh & blod
þat for þe deyed on þe rood
A key y toke þe al-so
. . . . . .
To bere with þe where þu go
. . . . . .

BOD. ADD. C. 280

a scryth of a conenaunt mad þer was
Be-twexyn me & satanas
alle myn to hauyn a-way
þat he me be-reft wyth fals pray
Fol. 125 a-ȝan y come & made a fest
a-monges all men most & lest
A-party þo men gunyn knoue me
þat I was man of grete powste
þe fest last XL dawys [lawys
To done men knawyn my ryth
þe fyrst it is of ioye & blys
þat hesterne day clepyd is
hon endenture y lefte with þe
þat ouer al þou schuldys syker be
In prestys hand my flesche & eke my blode
þat for þe deyde vp-on þat rod
on bycaye i tok þe also
þe rode þat i was vp-on ydo
To beryn wyth þe were þat þou go
þanne darst þou[1] nere dreydyn þi fo

HARL. 5396

þat fest was of Ioye & blysse
þat estyr day ȝet clepyd ys
One endentur I left with þe
þat euyr þu schalt sekyr be
In prestys hand yn flesch & blode
þat for þe dyed o þe rode
A bykeye I toke þe also
þe cros þat I was on do
To bere with þe where-so þou go
þen thar þe not drede þy fo

[1] "darst þou" is written twice.

[2] "me" repeated.

Rawl. poet. 175	Add. 11307
213 To my fader I most gone	213 To my fader I moste gon
214 ffor all his will I haue done	214 ffor al his wille I haue y-don
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
215 A cote armure I bare *with* me	215 A cote armure I bar wiþ me
ffor *þat* I toke of þi lyuere	ffor *þat* I tok of þy leuere
þe cloth was ryche & wele fyne	21. The cloþ was ryche and ryȝt fyn
þe chaumpe it was of red camelyne	The chaumpe it was of red camelyn
A wele fair may to me it wroght	A wel fayre mayde to me it wroȝt
220 Out of hir boure I it broght	220 Out of hure bour I it brouȝt
Powderd *with* fyn roses rede	I-poudred *with* fyue roses rede
Woundes *þat* I tholed in dede	Wiþ woundes *þat* I deled dede
Þat when I come o-gayn to þe	Whan I com eft aȝeyn to þe
224 Þare-by þou myght knaw me	224 Ther-by myȝt þou knowe me

Bod. 89

213 To my fado*ur* I most goon*e*	215 a cote armuo*ur* I bare wiþ me
214 ffor alle his wille I haue doon	ffor þat I tooke of thy lyu*e*rere
. . . . .	That chothe was good and fyn [lyn
. . . . .	The chaumpe was of rede chame-
. . . . .	A wele faire may hit wrought
. . . . .	220 and ought of here boure I hit brought
. . . . .	I powdred wiþ fyn rose rede
. . . . .	woundes þat I tholede dede
. . . . .	Whanne I come oft agayn to the
	224 Ther-by þou mayst knowe me

HARL. 2346

213 To my fader I most gon
214 ffor al his wille I haue done
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
215 A cote Armure y bare *with* me
ffor *þat* I took of *þi* lyu*er*e
þe clo*þ* was riche & wel fyne
þe champe was of white camelyn
A wel faire maide to me hit [wrou*ȝ*t
220 Out of hir*e* boure I hit brou*ȝ*t
I-poudred *with* fyue roses rede
Of wondes *þat* I *þ*oled dede

When y com eft a*ȝ*en to *þe*
224 *þer*-by my*ȝ*t *þu* knowe me

ADD. BOD. C. 280

213 ffor to my fadir I most go
214 all is wyl I aue do
a on hal*þ*rost day I vndyr*e*-stond
b y went vp-on my fadyr reth hond*e*
c To deme *þe* qwyk & eke *þe* deyd
d al my*n* to schyldyn fro *þe* qued
e a witsonday werement
f a-don I sent wyth goode talent
g wit & wysdame to all mankynde
h all men to scheldene fro *þe* fende
215 a cote armowr I bar *with* me
for *þat* I tok of *þi* lyuere
þe cloth was ryche god & fyn*e*
þe chomp it was oft whyt came-
lyn*e* [wroght
A wel faire mayden to me it
220 vt of here boure he me it broght
It was pouderyde *with* V rose rede
þat were *þe* wondys *þat* I for man
sufferyd ded
wen I come heft a-*ȝ*ayn to *þe*
224 *þer*by mayst *þou* wel knoue me

HARL. 5396

213 To my fadur I must gon Fol. 805b
214 ffor all hys wyll I haue don
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
215 A kote armur I bart *with* me
ffor *þat* I toke for loue of *þe*
þat closth was bothe gode & fyne
And hyt hath suffryd mych pyne
A full fayr may hyt wro*ȝ*t
220 Out of hur body hyt was bro*ȝ*t
hyt was powdryd all *with* red
Wowndyd *þat* suffryd ded
When I come efte agenn to *þe*
224 Wher-by[1] *þou* may knowe me

[1] *h* written above the line.

RAWL. POET. 175

225 Þase þat bene of rent bi-hynde
And þes dedes haue noght in mynde
Sore may þai be a-dred
When þis chartre sall be red
All þa sall to hell pyne
230 And *with* me to blys sall myne
231 Pay þi rent kepe þe fra gylt
Come & clayme when þou wylt
Þe blys þat lost our forme frende

234 To þe whilk *crist* vs bring *with*-outen ende.
A— M— E— N—.

ADD. 11307

225 Tho þat ben of rente be-hynde
An þuse dedes haue noȝt in mynde
Sore may þeyer ben adrad
Whan þis chartre shal ben rad
Alle þey shulle to helle pyne
230 *With* me to blisse shulle go myne
231 Pay þi rente kep þe fro gylt
Come and cleyme whan þou wylt
The blisse þat loste oure former frende
Crist vs sende wiþouten ende.

Amen

BOD. 89

225 Thise þat ben of rent by-hynde
and thise dedes haue not in mynde
Sore may thei þa ben a-dradde
Whanne þis Chartre shall be redde
alle þei shulle to helle pyne
230 wiþ me to blis hulle gone myn

Fol. 49 Pay þei rent and kepe þe from gilt
Come and chalenge what þou wilt
To þat blis þat lost oure forme frende
234 Crist vs brynge wiþ-oute ende
Amen [1]
Explicit carta *Christi*

[1] For marks of ownership, etc., occurring upon this folio, see description of the MS. at pp. xxxi f.

HARL. 2346

225 Þo þat ben of rente bi-hynde
And þese loue-dedes haue noȝt in mynde
Sore may þey þan be a-drad
Whan þis chartre she be rad
Alle þey shulle to helle pyne
Fol. 55 230 Wiþ me to blisse shul go myne
a Pay þi rente bue noȝt by-hinde
b ffor þourȝ þe ȝere þu myȝt þat gras fynde
231 Pay þi dette kepe þe fro gylt
Come and clayme when þu wylt
Þe blysse þat lost oure forme frende
234 Crist vs graunt with-oute ende
Amen.

ADD. BOD. C. 280

225 All þo þat be of rente be-hyndyne
& my loue-dedys haue noght in mynde
2d Col. fful sor mon þay ben adrad
wen þis charter schall be red
All þey schull til helle peyne
230 wyth me to blis schull gone all myne
a Þerfor pay þi rent be nath be-hynde
b Þrow þe ȝer þou myth grace fynde [2]
231 Pay þi dettys & kep þe fro gylte
& come & chalange wen þat þou wylte
Þat blesse þat lese vr form frende
234 Cryst it vs grante with-vtyn ende
a Þat is to seyn þe blysse of heuyn
b amen for is name seuyn
Explicit carta domini nostri ihesu Christi [3]

HARL. 5396

225 Þey þat bene of rent be-hynde
And thyse dedys haue noȝt yn mynde
Sore may þey ben [1] a-dredde
When þe charter schall ben red
All þey schall to hell pyne
230 With me to blysse schall go alle myne
231 Pay þy dete & kepe þe fro gylt
Come & chalange what [4] þat wylt
Þe blysse þat lastyth euyr to my frende
234 Cryste us brynge with-owtyn ende
Explicit [5]

[1] A faint mark, as though *half* erased, occurs over this word.
[2] Cf. lines 127-8.
[3] For marks of ownership on this folio see description of the MS. at p. xxxi.
[4] *w* is written after this word.
[5] Some scribbling follows which seems to read: "Fayre Fayre sone he sayde."

Magd. Coll. Oxf. St. Peter in the East 18[e] (verso)

Ihesu kyng of heuen ant helle
man & woman y kil þe telle
What loue y haue do to þe
loke what loue þou hast do to me
Of alle ioye þou were out-pult
with treson & *with*-oute gylt
Pore þou were dryue a-way
as a best *þat* goþ on stray
Fro my ryche y come a-doune
to seche þe fro toun to toun
Myn heritage *þat* is so fre
in þy mischef to ȝyue hit þe
whenne *þis* ȝyft ȝyue þe y sholde
y dyde as þe lawe wolde
To a mayde y ordeynyd me
for no chalenge shulde be
Wel worþily he kepte þe ant me
til y my tyme wolde see
Fourty wokes and fourty daies
to fulfille þe riȝt lawes
þe mayde was triwe hende & free
he resceyued[1] boþe[2] me & þe
Me þy manhede & þy grace
þus cam sesing furst a place
Whan þis sesyng was y-do
ful grete enuy hadde þo þy foo
þo belzebub & sathanas
hadde grete wonder wh[i][3] hit was
He fondit me *with* felonye
with pride couetyse & glotonye
Wel he wiste y was a manne
but synne on me fonde he none
Hard he þretned me in hys þouȝt
þat þat sesyng shulde be dere bouȝt
He sent his seruantes *with* maistrie
With wo & sorowe me to destryę
Wel he fonde hym gayned noȝt
anoþ*er* þyng was in my þouȝt
More syker þe to make
aȝens þy foo ful of wrake
Heuen & erþe in p*re*sent
to make a chartre of feoffament
In suche a man*er* be-houyþ to be
þat y most ȝyue my lyfe for þe
For *þou* art dede ant y am lif
y most dye to ȝyue þe lif
Mony a way y haue go
in hungre & thirst thole & wo
þritti wynter & mo þan too
er my charter were full doo
No myȝt y[4] fynde no p*ar*chemyn
for to laste *with*-oute fyne
But as loue bad me doo
myn owne skyn y toke þ*er*-too
To gete me frendys y gaf good mede
so doþ þe pore *þat* haue more nede
On a þorsday a soup*er* y made
frend & fo to make glade [fode
With mete ant drynke to soulys
With holy wordes my flesh & blode
þis y made for mankynde
My loue-dedys to haue in mynde
Hoc facite in meam comemoracionem

[1] Transcript *resteyned*. [2] The last letter is blurred but looks like *o*.
[3] The first letter has been altered in writing. [4] Transcript *miȝty*.

MANUSCRIPTS

OF

THE LONG CHARTER

B-TEXT

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

Bona carta gloriose passionis domini nostri ihesu *Christi* [1]

Fol. 235

Who so euyr will rede this boke
And *with* gostly ey
there-yn loke
To othir thynge schall he not wende
To saue his sowle fro the fende
Than for to do as this boke telleth
ffor holy wrytt for-soth hit spellyth
Whare-fore y pray yow for charite
In this booke ye reede and see
With all youre hert and yowre mynd
And kepe trewly þat ye þer-yn fynde
And that ye fulfyll in dede
Which in this booke ye doth reede
Nowe ye schull hyre anon ryght
Howe criste spekyth to vs all tyȝt
Wordis of a chartour þat he haþe wrowȝt
that ye schall kepe *with* all your þowȝt
With all youre hert and your mynde
And kepe trewly þat ye there-yn fynde [2]
a to make a chartour by-houyþ many þyng [3]
b As parchement pen and ynke
c Wex and seele wytnyssith also
d Yowre rent þat ye þer for schall do

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

Fol. 42b

Who-so-euyr wyll rede ouyr this boke
And wyth his gostely þere-In loke
Tyl the scole dare he not wende
To saue is sowle frome the fende
Þanne for to do as this boke tellyth
for holy wrytte for-soth it spellyth
where-for I praye ȝou for charyte
ȝe that this boke wyl rede or see
Sett youre hertes þere-on & your mendys
kepe derworthly þat ȝe þere-in fynde
And fulfyll it in dede
that ȝe schul nowe in this boke rede
for ȝe schul now here A-none ryghte
youre Sauyour speke to ȝou a-plyght
wordys of chartur þat he hath wroughte
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] At the top of this folio is some writing, illegible to me.

[2] Repetition of lines 9 and 10, apparently by mistake.

[3] For lines corresponding to this and the following three, cf. C-Text (MS. Reg. 17. C. XVII).

COTT. CALIG. A II.

Carta ihesu *Christi*

Fol. 77a

1 Who so wyll ouer-rede thys boke

And *with* hys gostlye ye þer-on loke
To oþer skole dare he not wende
For to saue his sowle fro þe fende
5 Then for to do as þis boke telleth
For holy wryte for-soþe hit spelleth
Wherfore y pray ȝou for charyte
ȝe þat þis boke wyll rede or se
With ȝour herte & all ȝour mynde
10 Bereth derworþly þat ȝe her fynde

And fulfylle hit in dede
That ȝo now yn þis boke shull rede
For ȝe shull here a-none ryght

How ȝour sauyour speketh to ȝou as-tyȝte
-15 Wordus of a charter þat he hath wrowȝth
16 That ȝe mow kepe yn all ȝour powȝth

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

here folowe þ þe chartur of crifte

Fol. 89b

Who-so will ouer-rede this boke
And wyth hys goostly eye þer-on loke
To odur scole dar he not wende
Fol. 40a To saue hys soule fro the fende
5 Than for to do as þys boke tellyth
ffor holy wryte for-sothe hyt spellyth
Wherefore y pray yow for charyte
He that thys boke wyll rede or see
Wyth yowre herte & all yowre mynde
10 Kepyth derworþely þat ye here-in fynde
And fulfyllyth hyt in dede
That ye schull now in þys boke rede
ffor now stonde ye full styll here anon ryȝt
Yowre sauyour wyll speke to yow ys tyȝt
15 Wordes of a chartur þat he hath wroght
16 That ye now knowe in all yowre thoȝt

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

17 Who this chartour doth vndirstonde
teche hit forth *in* diuerse londe
to othir þat haueþe it nowȝt sayne
20 hit sauyþe sowlis fro þe payne
a Ye that comeþe and wol noȝt teche
b May be a-gast of god-is wreche
21 Ellis schull ye noȝt withoutyn stryfe

Passe fro the world to þe lond of lyfe

Now schall y be-gyn to rede þer-on
Criste grawnt yow pes euery-chone

25 Ihesus lorde of heuen and hell
to man and woman woll y tell
loke whate loue y haue y-do to þe
28 loke whate loue þou hast do to me
a Aftyr my-silfe þou were the beste [1]
b Of all creaturis þou art fayreste
c A fayrer creature may none be
d Aftir my-silfe y made the
e But for þou were vnbuxum to me
f And etyste an appull of a tre
2nd Col.
g þat y forbode þou scholdyst noȝt take
h þou were y-dreue a-way with þy make
29 ffram paradise þou were y-pulte
30 With care and sorow all to-spulte
And there þou were y-dryue a-waye
As a beste that goth in-straye
ffrom my kyngdome y come downe
to seche the fram towne to towne
35 To helpe the of thy myschefe
Dereworth sowle þou art me lefe
My heritage þat is so fre
In thy myschefe y yaue the
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

[1] Cf. C-Text, vv. 35-38 and 41-44 inclusive.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

17 þat ȝe thys boke cunne vndystonde
Telle ȝe it in All thys londe
To other þat thys boke haue not seyne
20 To Saue here sowles as youre owene
a for they þat cunne And wyl not teche
b It is to drede of ful gret wrethe
21 for ellys ȝe schul nat wyth-oute gret stryfe
frome thys worlde passe to þe londe of lyfe
Now he wyl be-gynne to rede þere-one
his pees he ȝeue vs euerychone
Fol. 43a
25 Ihesu lorde of heuene & helle
Mane And womane I wyll the telle
loke what loue I haue do for the
28 And loke what loue þou hast do for me
a . . . . . .
b . . . . . .
c . . . . . .
d . . . . . .
e . . . . . .
f . . . . . .
g . . . . . .
h . . . . . .
29 frome paradyse þou were owt pytte
30 Wyth care And sorowe þou were spylte
And for þou were I-drawe A-waye
as best that gooth A-straye
for my ryghte I came A-downne
To seke the frome townne to townne
35 To helpe the in thyne myschefe
derworthly soule þat Art my lyfe
Myne erytage that is so fre
In thy myschefe I ȝaf the
And whanne þat solynge A-ȝeue þe solde
40 I dyde as þe iewes wolde

Cott. Calig. A. II.	Camb. Univ. Ff. 2. 38.
17 And when ȝe þis boke kan vnþerstonde	17 And who thys boke can undurstonde
Teche hit forth þorow all þis londe	Teche hyt forthe thorow ows þys londe
Vntyll oþer þat þis boke haue not sowen	Oon-tyll oþur þat þys boke haue now swane
20 To saue þeyr sowles ryȝth as ȝour owen	20 To saue ther soulys ryȝt as þer owne
. . . . .	a ffor he that can and wyll not teche
. . . . .	b Hyt ys to drede of full grete wreche
21 For ellys ȝe shull not without gret stryfe	21 ffor ellys ye can not withowt grete stryfe
Fro þis worlde passe into þe londe of lyf	ffor þys worlde passyþ in-to þe londe of lyfe
Now y wyll begynne to rede þereon	Now y wyll begynne to rede ther-one
Hys pees he ȝeue vs euerychone	Hys pees he yeue us euery-chone
25 Ihesu lord of heuen & helle	25 Ihesu lorde of heuene and helle
Man & wommon y woll ȝow telle	Man & woman y wole yow telle
Loke what loue y haue to þee	Loke what prowe y do [1] to þe
28 And loke what loue þou hast to me	28 And loke what loue þou haste done to me
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
. . . . .	. . . . .
29 Fro paradys þou were out pylte	29 ffro paradys þou were owte pylte
30 With kare & sorow þou beþ all spylte	30 With care & sorowe þou were owt y-spylte
And forþe þou bere drawe a-way	And forthe þou were dreven a-way
As a beste þat goth a-straye	As a beste þat goyth on-straye
For my ryght y come a-downe	ffor my ryght y come a-downe
To seke þe fro town to towne	To seke the fro towne to towne
35 To holpe þe yn þy myschef	35 To helpe the in thy myschefe
Derworth sowle þou art me lef	Derworthe soule thou were lefe
Myn Erytage þat ys so fre	Myn herytage that ys [2] so free
In þy myschef to ȝeue hit þe	In thy myschefe to yeue thee
And when þat sesyng y ȝeue shulde	And whene þe sesyng y gyf þe schulde
40 A dede as þe jewys wolde	40 I dudd [3] as the yewes wolde

[1] Before *do* the scribe wrote *haue* and afterwards cancelled it.

[2] There is a tail on the *s* in this word.

[3] *Hic et passim* after words ending in *dd* this scribe adds a tail which probably represents a final *e*.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

To a mayde y toke me
Whan y conseyuyd schulde be
a Derwardly sche kept me
b Till tyme fulfyllid schulde be
the mayde was mylde and free
he reseyuyd me for the
Nyne mounthis *with* hir y was
to make a-mendis for thi trespas
Whan y was to þis world y-borne
to saue the that were forlorne
Throwe *ver*tu and throwe grace

Come this seyson furst in place
Virgyn mary mayde mylde
Wyth me he went grete *with* childe
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
That cursyd fende sathanas
Had grete meruayle why hit was
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Wroth he was hit helpid hi*m* noȝt
the to helpe eu*er* was my thouȝt
He temptyd me to grete foly
With pryde couetyse and gloteny
Well he wyste y was a man
But synne in me fownde he none
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

To a mayde I be-toke me
Whanne I conseywyd schulde be
a ful derly for-soth sche kepte me
b To the tyme fulfylled be
the mayde was mylde trew & fre
sche reseyued*e* me for the
X*e* monthes wyth here I was
to make A-mendis for thy trespace
here I in-to the worlde was borne
To Saue mankende þ*at* was forlorne
thorow myn wertu And thorow myn
grace
thus came furst this selyng*e* in place
Fol. 43b virgyne marie mayde mylde
wyt me thus went gret wyth childe
And whanne thys Selyng*e* vas I-do
wyl gret Envye hade the foo
þat cursed fende Sathanas
hade gret wondyr why it was
wher-for I schulde so meche loue the
that so vnkend hast be to me
wroth he was it helpe hym*e* no*ught*e
for to helpe the was All my thought*e*
he tempted me to gret foly
In p*ride* covetyse And gloteny
And wyl he wyste I was A man*e*
But synne in me fonde he non*e*
for-soth [1] ful herde he threttt me
that sesyng*e* schulde der*e* A-bought*e* be
for to dystroy me thorow hys myght*e*
And putt the for euyr from*e* my sight*e*

[1] MS. *for* corrected from *forth*.

Cott. Calig. A. II.	Camb. Univ. Ff. 2. 38.
41 Vntyll a mayde y be-toke me	41 Tyll a maydyn y be-toke mee
42 When *þat* y *con*ceyued shulde be	42 When y conceyuyd schulde bee
a ffull wordyly she kepte me	. . . . .
b Tyll þe tyme fulfylled shuld be	. . . . .
43 The mayde was trwe mylde & fre	43 The maydyn was trewe mylde & free
She me reseyued for loue of þe	Sche resseyuyd me for loue of thee
45 Nyne monethes *with* her y was	45 Nyne monthes *with* hur y was
To make amendes for þy trespas	To make amendys for thy trespas
Or y ynto *þis* worlde was borne	Or y in-to thys[1] worlde was borne
To saue mankynde *þat* was forlorn	To saue mankynde *þat* was forlorne
Thorow þe vertu of my grace	Throrowe my vertue and my grace
50 Thus kome *þis* sesyng fyrst in place	50 Thus came þys sesyng fyrste on place
Vyrgyn Mary mayden mylde	Vyrgyne mary maydyn mylde
With me went grette *with* chylde	Wyth me went þus grete *with* chylde
And when *þis* sesyng was all y-do	And when þys sesynge was all y-do
Grete enuye hadde þy fo	Well grete envy hadd thy foo
55 That cursedde fend satanas	55 That cursydd fende satanas
Hadde *gret* wonþ*er* why *hit* was	Had grete wondur why hyt was
Wherfor j wolde so myche loue þe	wherefore y wolde so moche loue þe
That so vnkynde hast be to me	That so vnkynde haste þou be to me
Wroth he was *hit* helpede hy*m* noȝt	Wroth he was hyt helpyd hym noȝt
60 For to helpe þe was all my þowȝt	60 ffor to helpe the was all my þoght
He tempted me yn so *gret* foly	He tempted me in so grete folye
An *pride* couetyse & glotenye	Pryde couetyse and glotenye
And well he wyste y was a man	And well he wyste y was a man
But synne yn me fonde he non*e*	But synne in me fonde he none
65 ffor-soþe well harde he þretened me	65 ffor-sothe ryght harde he threted me
How *þat* sesyng shuld dere y-bowȝt b[e]	That sesynge schulde haue beten me
For to destroye me þorow *his* m[yȝht]	ffor to dystroye me þorow hys myȝt
68 And putte þe for eu*er* out of m[y syȝht]	68 And put the for-eu*er* owt fro my syȝt

[1] The *s* in this word is followed by a tail.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

69 Derwarde sowle herkny to me
70 And a newe ioye y tell to the
to make this chartour of feoffament
Heuen and erþe schall be present
Hit schall in such maner be
þat y mote ȝeue my lyfe for the
75 Whan y am dede man be thow kynde

And haue this chartour euer in mynde
ffor thy enemy þat þe hath sowȝt

Fol. 235b the woll for-yete ryght nowght
there-fore y wol day for thy folye
80 to brynge the in my company
I am a-lyue and þou art dede
y yef the lyfe a-yenste þe quede
To helpe the y am redy
And to saue the fram thy enmye
85 Many a way y haue y-goo
In hungyr chele and thurste also
Thyrty wyntyr and thre there-to
Was all ar all my disese were y-do
Parchemente to fynde wyste y none
90 To make a chartour a-yenste thy fone
That schall leste with-outyn mynde
92 Herkeneth to me wordis and eynde

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

69 Nowe derworthly soule herke to me
70 And A newe Ioye I xal telle the
To make A chartore of feffemente
heuene And erth schuld be presente
But in soth[2] A maner it mot nede be
þat I xall ȝeue myne lyfe for the
75 And whanne I Am dede man be þou
kende
And haue thys chartur euyr in mende
for A enmye þou hast þat hath þe
soughte
. . . . . .
Fol. 44a for I wylde for thyne foly
80 And brynge the in-to my company
I am lyf And þou art deþ
I wull ȝeue lyf A-ȝene þe qued
for to helpe I ame All redy
to saue the euyr frome thyn enmye
85 for many way I haue goo
In hunger thryst schel And wo
xxxti wyntyr And thre þere-to
or my desese were All do
Parchement to fynde wyst I none
90 To make thy charture A-ȝene thy fone
þat wolde last wyth-oute ende
92 herkenyth now to my wordes hende

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

The Chartur

Fol. 90a

69 Nowe derworthy Sowle herkyn to me
And a newe Ioye I shall telle the

TO make a chartur of fefment[1]
hevyn and erthe shall be present
But in such manere hit mvst nedys be
That I shall yelde my lyfe for the
75 And whan I am dede man be þou kynde
And haue thys chartur evyr in thy
mynde
ffor an enemye that hathe þe[3] sought
But I shall for no thyng lese the nought
ffor I wylle dye for thy folye
80 And brynge the in-to my companye

[1] Immediately preceding this line is a duplicate of it, which is cancelled, the fourth word being spelled *chartour*.
[2] Thus the MS.
[3] þe is inserted above the line.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

69 Now dereworth soule herken [to me]
70 And a newe ȝoye shall y telle [þe]
To make a chartur of feffem[ent]
Heuen & erþe shall be pres[ent]
Hit moste nedus in suche man[er be]
That y most ȝolde my lyf fo[r þe]
75 And when y am deed man þe[n be þou kynde]
And haue þis chartyr euer yn þ[y mynde]
ffor þyn enmy þat hath þe so[wȝht]
And ȝyt shall y lose þe nowȝ[t]
ffor y woll dye for þy foly
80 And brynge þe yn-to my cu[mpanye]
I am lyf and þou art dede
Call þou my lyf aȝeyn þy [nede]
ffor to helpe þe y am redy
To saue þe euer fro þyn en[my]
85 ffor many a way haue y [goo]
In hunger þryste chele & woo
Thrytty wyntyr & þre þerto
Or my desese wer all y-do
Parchemyn to fynde wyste y none
90 To make a chartur aȝens þy fone
That wolde laste with-owten ende
92 Herken now to my wordes hende

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

69 Now derworthe soule herken to me
70 And a newe yoye y schall telle to þe
To make a chartur of feffement
Heuen and erthe schall be presente
But in soche a maner hyt muste be
That y schall ȝelde my lyfe for the
75 And whan y am dede man be þou kynde
And haue þys chartur euyr in þy mynde
ffor an enemy that hathe the soght
But y schall for noþyng lese þe noȝt
ffor y wold dye for thy folye
80 And brynge in-to my companye
I am a-lyue and thou art dedd[2]
Fol. 40b I wold yeue my lyfe ayenste þy quede
ffor to helpe þe y am all redy
ffor to saue þe euer fro þyn enemye
85 ffor many a way y haue y-goo
In hungur thurste cheyle & woo
Thretty wyntur & thre therto
Or my dysese were all y-doo
Perchement to fynde wyste y noone
90 To make thy chartur a-yenste þy foone
That wolde laste with-owten ende
92 Herkenyth now to my wordys hende

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

81 I am lyfe and thou art dede
I wylle yeve my lyfe a-yenst thyn quede
ffor to helpe the I am alle redy
ffor to saue the euer[1] fro thyn enemy
85 ffor many a way I have goo
In hunger thruste chele and woo
Thyrty wynter and thre þer-to
Or my dyssese were alle I-doo
Parchemyn to fynde wyst I noone
90 To make the chartur a-yenst thy foone
That wold last withoutyn ende
92 herkenys nowe to my free wordys hende

[1] *Euer* is inserted above the line.

[2] Or *dede*?

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

93 But as trewe loue me bad to do
Myne owne skynne y toke there-to
95 And whan y hadd so y-do
ffew frendis hadd y tho
To geete me frendis y ȝafe gret mede
98 As doth the poure that hath nede
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
101 Than my-selue for the
Was y-naylid to the tree
On a thorsday a soper y made
104 With frendis and foys to make hem glad
105 Of brede and wyne the sacrament
Euyr to be oure testament
hit is my fleysche and my blode
To hem that lyuyth in mylde mode
To hem that dyeth out of charite
110 her dampnacioun for euyr schall be
here schall y foure wordis teche
to the peple and it preche
therefore take hit to yowre mynde
yf ye will to heuen wende
115 Now this word is of the sacrament
116 that men schall reseyue verament

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

93 but as trewe loue bad me do
Myne owne skynne I toke þereto
95 And whanne I hade ȝit so I-do
wul fewe frendes had I þo
to gete me frendes I ȝaf gret mede
as doth þe pore þat hath gret nede
But for to ȝeue the I hade no more
100 for thi sowle þat was for-lorne
þanne my-selfe for to ȝeue the
þat for the dyed vppone A tre
vppone A thursday A sopyr I made
Both frend & foo to make heme glade
105 of[1] bred And wyne the sacramente
for euyr to be youre testament[2]
the wyche is myne fesche & myne bloode
Fol. 44b To tho þat here levyne vith mylde mode
And tho þat deyne oute of charyte
110 . . . . . .
here wyl I iiij[e] wordys teche
to the pupyl I bydde ȝou heme preche
And þat þey haue heme euire in mende
here mende in heuene they schul fynde
115 these wordys towchene þe Sacrament
116 þat mend sundyrly resceyuene verament

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

93 But as trewe love bad me doo
Myn owyn skyn to take ther-to
95 And whan I had so I-doo
Well fewe frendys had I thoo
To gete me frendys I ȝaf gret mede
As dothe the poure that hathe gret nede
99 . . . . . .
100 ffor thy soule that was for-lore
Than my soule to yeve for the[3]
That for the dyed vp-on the tree
Vp-on a thursday a supper I made
104 To frende and foo to make hem glade

[1] After *of* in this line there stands in the MS. what looks like a cancelled *h*.
[2] In the MS. this line was omitted from its place and was written after line 108.
[3] *thyn* deleted before *the*.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

But as trewe loue ladde[1] me þo
Myn owene skyne y take þer-to
And when y hadde so y-do
Well fewe frendes hadde y tho
To gete me frendes y ȝaf gret mede
As þoth þe pore þat hath myche nede
But to gyf þe y hadde no more
ffor þy sowle þat was forlore
Then my sowle y ȝaf for þe
ffor to dye vpon a tre
Vpon a thursday a sowper y made
To frend & fo to make hem glade
Of breed & wyne þe sacrament
ffor euer to be my testament
Whych ys my flesh & my blode
To þo þat lyuen yn mykyll mode
And to þem þat dyen out of charite
Her dampnacyon for euer to be
Her wyll y ȝou fowr wordes teche
[A]nd to þe pepull loke ȝe hem preche
Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem
[þ]o þat haue hem euer yn mynde
[H]ygh mede in heuen shull ȝe fynde

These wordes towchen þe sacrament
That men resseyuen verament

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

But as trewe loue badd me doo
Myn owne skynne y toke ther-too
And whan y had so y-doo
Well fewe frendys had y tho
To gete me frendys y gafe grete mede
As doþ þe pore man þat haþ grete nede
But for to yeue þe had y no more
ffor thy soule that was for-lore
Then my-selfe to yeue for the
That for the dyed vpon a tree
Vpon a thursday a soper y made
To frende & foo to make þem gladd
Of bredd and wyne the sacrament
ffor euyr to be my testament
whych ys my flesche & my blode
To them þat leuen in mylde mode
And tho þat dyen owt of charyte
Ther dampnacioun for euyr to bee
Here wold y my wordes yow teche
And to þe pepull y pray yow þem preche
Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem
And that they haue þem in mynde
Ther mede in heuene þere schull þey fynde

These wordes techeth the sacrament
That men resceyuene verament

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Of bred and wyne the sacrament
For ever to be in my testament
wyche ys my fleshe and my blode
To thoo þat levyn in mylde moode
And to þoo þat dyen out of charyte
here damponacioun for evyr to be
Fol. 90b Here wold I you foure wordys teche
And to the peple I pray you hem preche[3]
Hoc facite in meam commemoracionem
AND that they have hem ever in mynde
here mede in hevyn there shull þey fynde

These wordys tovchyth the sacrament
That men receyuen verament

[1] The *de* in this word has a stroke over it.
[2] In the MS. line 116 follows line 117.
[3] *teche* deleted before *preche*.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

Hit semyth meny and is but oone
Hit semyth brede and it is none
Hit is quykk and semyth dede
Hit is my body *in* forme of brede
Hit is y-made for man-kynde[1]
My wondirfull dedis to haue *in* mynde
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
And ar y fram the borde a-rose
2nd Col.
To the iewes betrayed y wos
Whan y hadd y-soped y ros a-none
to grete maystris þey gan goone
And browght me forth *in* the way
As a lyon that goth a-bowte his pray
And a-none they be-gan to pylle me
And sayde y schulde day vppon a tre
My mantell and othir clothis mo
All y hadd well sone for-goo
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
All my clothis fro me they token
And all my frendis me for-sokyn

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

It semyth many & it is but one
It semyth bred And itt *is* none
It is qwyce and semyth dede
It is myne body *in* forme of brede
this made I for mane-kende
My wondyrfull dedys to haue in mende
Who-so it resceyuith in clennes
Sauyd xal he be And come to blysse
And to haue in mynde myne passyoun
the qwych xal þin saluacioun
or I frome that borde ros
of myne dyscipule trayed I was
Whanne he hadde suppyd he ros A-none
To gret maystrys he gane gone
And broughte heme wyt hym in þe waye
As a lyone goth A-bowte hys praye
A-none the be-gunne to vnspoyle me
And seyd I schulde dye vppone A tre
My mantyl And other clothes moo
Fol. 45a All I hade heme sone for-goo
they cast lōt as wolde be-falle
wheyther one schulde haue all or part Alle
But Alle myne clothys frome me they tokene
And Alle myne frendys me sone for-sokne

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

hit semyth many and ys but oon
hit semythe bred and it ys noon
hit ys queke and semys dede
hit ys my bodi in forme of breede
Thys made I oonly for man-kynde
My wonderfulle dedys to haue in mynde
Who-so resseyvyth it in clennes
Savid shall be and come to blys
And to have in mynde my passioun
The wyche shall be thy sauacyoun
Or I fro the boorde a-roos
Of my dyssyple be-trayed I was

[1] Opposite this line in the margin is written *Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum.*

COTT. CALIG. A II.

Hyt semyth mony & ys but on
Hyt semyth brede & hit ys none
Hyt ys qwylke & semeth deed
Hyt ys my body in forme of breed
Thys made y only for mankynde
[M]y wonþerfull werkes to haue yn mynde
Who so reseyue hit yn clennesse
[S]aued shall be & come to blysse
[A]nd to haue yn mynde my passyon
That shall be þy saluacyon
Ere y fro þe bord arose
Of my dyscypull betrayd y wose
When he had sowped he rose a-non
To grete maystres ryde he gone
And browȝt hem with hym yn þe way
As a lyon goth abowte his pray
Suscepit me sicut leo paratus ad predam

Anon þey begon to spoyle me
And sayde y shulde dye vpon a tre
My mantell & oþer cloþus mo
All y hadde hem sone for-go
They caste lotte as wolde befall
Whether on shuld hem or parte hem all

So all my cloþus fro me þey token
And all my frendus me for-soken

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

Hyt semeþ many hyt ys but oone
Hyt seemeþ bredd and hyt ys noone
Hyt ys quykk and semyth dedd
Hyt ys my body in forme of bredd
Thys made y oonly for mankynde
My wondurfull dedys to haue in mynde

Who-so resceyueth hyt in klennesse[2]
Sauydd schall be and come to blysse
And to haue in mynde my passyoun
The whych schall be thy sauacioun
Or y fro the borde aroos
Of my dyscypull be-trayed y was
When he had sowpyd he roos anone
To the grete maystyrs he can gone
And broȝt þem with hym in þe way
As a lyone þat gothe a-bowte hys pray
Susceperunt me sicut leo patris ad predam
Anon þey be-ganne[3] to spoyle me
And seydd y schulde dye vpon a tre
My mantell & oþur cloþys moo
All y hadd þem sone forgoo
They caste lotte as wolde be-falle
whether oon schulde haue all or parte þem all
But all my cloþys fro me þey tokene
And all my frendys me forsokene

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Whan he had soped he roos a-noon
To grete maysteys he gan goon
And brought hem with hym in þe way
As a lyone that gothe a-boute hys pray
Susceperunt me sicut leo paratus and[1] *predam*
A-NOON they be-gonne to spoyle me
And seyde I shuld dye vppon a tree

My mantell and other clothys moo
Alle I hadde hem[4] sone for-goo
They cast lotte as wolde be-falle
Where oone shuld haue alle or parte hem alle
But alle my clothys fro me they tokyn
And alle my frendys sone me for-sokyn

[1] Thus the MS.
[2] The *k* is blurred.
[3] MS. *be ganne* corrected from *be game*.
[4] *hem* is inserted.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

141 Nakyd y stoode a-monge my[1] foen
Othir sokoure had y none
Redy they were to do me disese
there was none that wolde me plese
145 they made skorges scharpe and grete
Where-with my body schulde they bete
And thowgh y wolde haue playnyd me
there schulde no socowre to me haue be
Sore a-ferde forsoth y was
150 Whan they ledde me in-to place

151 To a piloure y was bownde ful sore
152 On me they had no pite thore

a they seyde be gladd and mery of chere
b they buth thy frendis þat stondiþe here
c We schall neuyr forsake the
d till we se the naylid on tree
155 this he stoode y-bownde all nyght
156 till the morow hit was day lyght
153 y waysche with my owen blode
154 And on the erth colde y stoode

157 Sone aftyr y-straynyd vppon a tre
158 As parchement owȝt to be
159 Herknyth and ye schall wete
160 How this chartour was y-wrete

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

141 nakyd I stode A-monge myne foone
for other soker had I none
Redy þey werne me to dysese
But neuyr one þere me to please
145 they madene þere skourges grete
wherwyth my body schulde be bete
And thow I wolde haue pleynned me
þere schulde none socure haue[2] bene
ful sore a-ferde for-sothe I was
150 quan they ledde me forth so gret A pace

151 Towarde A peler they ledde me swythe
152 And þere A-boundene And betyne I was be-lyue

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

153 And waschyne wyth myn owene blood
þat one þe erthe A-boute colde it stode
155 And so ij stoode boundene al þat nyghte
Tyl one þe morowe þat it was daye lyghte
Strayned wel herde vppone A tre
As parchemente myghte to be
heryth nowe And ȝe schul wetyne
160 howe thys charture was wretyne

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

141 Nakyd I stode a-monge my foon
For other socour had I noon
Redy they were me for to dissese
But noon ther was me for to please
145 They mad scorges harde and grete
Ther-wyth my body shulde be bete
And though I wolde have pleyned me

Fol. 91[a] Ther shulde to me no socoure have be
ffulle Sore a-ferde for-sothe I was[3]
150 Whanne they[4] led me forthe so gret a paas
151 To a peler I was bovnde alle the nyght
152 Tugged and betyn tyll it was day lyght

[1] *my* is inserted. [2] After *socure*, *A* has been cancelled, and after *haue* *h* has been cancelled.
[3] *The cartur* is written in the margin. [4] *had* was written after *they* and then deleted.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

Naked y stod among my fone
ffor oþer sokour hadde y none
Redy þey wer me for to dysese
But none þe was me to plese
They made skourges hwge & grete
Therwith my body for to bete
And þowȝ y wolde haue playned me
Ther shulde to me no sokour haue be
ffull sore aferd for-soþe y was
When þey ledde me so gret a pase
To a pyler y was bownd all nyȝt
Tugged & beten tyll hit was day lyȝt
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
And wasshen with my owene blode
That on þe yrþe abowte me flode
And so y suffred all þe nyȝt
Tyll on morn hit was day-lyȝt

Streyned well harde to a tre
As parchemyn oweth for to be
Herkeneth now & ȝe shall wyten
How þe chartur was wryten

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

Nakyd y stode amonge my foone
ffor odur socour had y noone
Redy þey were me for to dysese
But none þer was me for to plese
They made scorges harde & grete
Ther-with my body schulde be bete
And thoght y wólde haue pleyned me
Ther schulde no socour to me haue bee
ffull sore aferde for-sothe y was
When þey ladd me forþe so grete a pase
To a peler y was bownden all þe nyght
Scorged & betyd tyl hyt was day-lyght
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
And waschen with myn owne blood
That on erþe abowte flode stode
And so y stode bounden all þe nyght
Tyll ȫn þe [1] morne þat hyt was lyght

Fol. 41a
Streyned well harde vpone a tree
As perchement owyth for to be
Heryth and ye schall weten
How thys chartur was y-wretone

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
And waschen wyth myn owyn bloode
That on the erthe a-boute me stode

And so I stood bounde all the nyght
Tyll on the morowe þat it was lyght
Streyned well faste vp-on a tree
As parchemyn owyth for to be
heryth nowe & ȝe shall wetyn
howe thys chartyr was I-wretyn

[1] Or þis?

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

Of my face fill downe the ynke
Whan thornys on my hed gan synke
the pennys that the lettris were *with* wrytene
were skorges that y was *with* betyne
How many lettris there-in bene[1]
Rede and thow myste wyte and seene
With .V. Ml. CCCC. fyfty and ten
Wowndis *in* my body blak and whane
Fol. 23b ffor to schew the of my loue-dede
my-sylue y Woll the chartor rede

ye that goth forth by the wey[2]
take hede and loke *with* yowre ey
Redith vppon this *par*chemyne
Of eny sorow were grettir *þan* myne
He that hireth this chartor y-redde
How y am wowndid and all for-bled

Reportith ye that beth hider y-come
that y am ih*esus* nazareth god-is son
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
that was y-bore in betheleem
Of mary y-offrid in ier*usalem*
The kyng*e* is son of heuen aboue
A m*er*ciful fadir and full of loue

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

Vppon*e* myn*e* hede A crown*e* *þey* sett
thornes thorowe my*n* brayne *þei* mette
The pennes *þat* *þe* letter*es* wretyne
Fol. 45b Weren*e* scourges *þat* I was wyt smeten*e*
how many lettyrs there-one bene
Rede and *þoue* maye wete & seen*e*
V*e* M*ilia* V. C.l And x*e*
Wondes one myn body both rede & wan*e*
for to schewe *þe* of loue-dede
My-selfe I wol the charture rede
*O vos omnes qui transit*is *per viam*
ȝe mene *þat* gone forth in *þe* weye
takyth hede and lokyth *with* your eye
And redyth vppon*e* this parchement
ȝif any sorowe be so gret as myn*e*
ȝet stondyth and heryth *þe* charture rede
why I Am wondyd & all for-blede
Sciant presentes & futuri
wote *ȝe* *þat* be here and be fore to come
Þat Ih*esu* of na*ȝ*areth godd*es* sone
vndrestond *ȝe* wyl *þat* wollyn Abyde
Þat Ih*esu* hath now A blody syde
Þat bore was in bedleme
of marye offered in Ierusaleme
Þe kynges sone of heuene a-boue
A mercyfull fadyr *þat* wel I loue

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Ouer alle my face fell the ynke
Thornys in myn hed be-gonne to synke
The pennys *þat* the letterys wretyn
Were scorges *þat* I was wytht smetyn
howe many letterys *þat* ther-on ben
Rede and thou may wete an seen
V ml v c fyfty and ten thanne
Woundys on my body bothe rede and wanne.
ffor to shewe the of my love in deede
My-selfe I wolde here the chartur rede
O vos omnis qui transitis per viam. attendite et videte si est dolor similis sicut dolor meus
ye men *þat* goon foorthe here by the weye
Be-holde and see bothe nyght and daye

[1] *nota bene* is written in the margin opposite this line.
[2] In the margin is written *o vos omnes qui transitis per viam.*

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

Ouer all my face fyll þe ynke
With þorn*us* *þat* *in* my hedde go*n*ne synke
The pe*n*n*us* *þat* þose letter*us* wryten
Wer sko*ur*ges *þat* y was *with* smyten
How many letter*us* *þat* *þer*-on bene
Rede & þou may wyte & sene
ffyue þowsande fyue hundered þen
Wonþ*us* of my body rede & wa*n*ne
ffor to shew þe of my loue-dede
My-self wyll here þe chartur rede
O vos omnes qui transitis per viam attendite uidete si est dolor sitis sicut dolor meus
ȝe men *þat* gon her by þe way
Beholde & se both nyȝt & day
And redeth vpon *þis* p*ar*chmyn
ȝyf any sorow be so gret as myn
Stonþeth & herkeneth *þis* chartur redde
Why y am wounded & all forbledde

Wyten þo *þat* be*n* her & þo *þat* ben to come

That y ih*es*u of naȝareth godd*us* sone
Vnþerstondeth well ȝe *þat* woll abyde
That y ih*es*u haue a blody syde
That borne was yn bedleem
Ouer-more offred yn-to iherusalem
The kyng*us* sone of heuen aboue
A m*er*cyfull fad*er* *þat* y so well loue

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

Ouer all the face felle the ynke
Thornys in myn hedd begynne to synke

The pennys þat þo letturs[2] wretyn*e*
Were scorges þat y was *with* smetyn*e*
How many letturs that þer-on bee
Rede & þou may wytt and see
ffyve thousande .v.c fyfty & .x. than
woundes on my body rede & wan*e*
ffor to schewe þe for my loue-dede
My-selfe wolde here the chartyr rede
*O vos omnes qui transit*is *per viam attendite & videte si est dolor sitis sicut dolor meus*
Þe men þat gone here be þe way
Be-holdeþ & see boþe nyght & day
And redyþ vpon thys p*ar*chemyn*e*
If eny sorowe be os grete as myne
Stondyth & herkenyþ þys chartur redd
Why y am woundedd & all for-bledd
Sciant presentes et futuri

WETEN þo *þat* ben here & þo *þat* be to come
That y ih*es*u of naȝareþ godd-*is* sone
vndurstondyþ well ye *þat* wyll abyde
That y ih*es*u hath a blody syde
Ouer more of-redd in-to Ier*usalem*
That borne was in bedleme
The kyngys sone of heuen aboue
A mercyfull fadur *þat* well y loue

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

And redythe vp-on *þis*[1] parchemyn
yef ony sorowe be so gret as myn
Stondyth an herkenyth thys chartur rede
Why I am wou*n*did and all for-blede
Siant presentes et feturi

WIten alle thoo that ben here & þ⁰ tho *þat* ben to com
That I Ih*es*u of Nasarethe godys son

Vndir-stondyth well ye *þat* wyll a-byde
That Ih*es*u hathe a blody syde
That born was in bedlem
Oder more offryd in-to Ierusalem
The kyngys sone of hevyn above[3]
A mercifull fadyr that well I love

[1] *my* has been deleted and *þis* inserted.
[2] There is a tail after the *s* in this word.
[3] *above* corrected from *abovyn*.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

Made a sesynge whan y was bore
to mankynde that was forlore
With my chartoure in playnte
Made to man a feffament
y haue him grauntid and y-yeue
In my kyngdome with me to leue
Euyr to be in heuen blisse
To haue and to holde withoutyn mysse
vppon this condicion to be kynde
And haue my wondirfull dedis in mynde

ffrely to holde and frely to yelde
With all the purtenanse þat y may welde
In my blisse for to dwell
ffor a rent that y schall tell
My herytage þat is so fre
With-outyn homage othir fute
None othir rentis ax y of the
But a foure leuyd grase þou yelde to me
the firste leue ys sorow of hert [1]
the secunde leue ys verray schryft
the thrid y nell no more do so
the firthe is penance y-yeued þerto
Whan this leue to gadere ys ysett
A trew loue men clepith hit

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

I made a sessynge whane I was bore
to mankende þat was for-lore
But wyth my charture here-in presente
I make to mannes Soule a feffemente
þat I haue grauntyd And I-ȝeue
to mankend wyth me for to be
Fol. 46a In my kyndome of heuene blysse
to haue and to holde wyth-owte mys
So in þis condycioun þat þou be kende
And myne wondyrful dedys to haue in mende
frely to haue and frely to holde
wyth all þe portenaunce with þe wolde
In my blysful Ioye euyr to dwelle
for þe rent þat I xal þe telle
Myn herytage þat is so fre
for homage or for fewte
no more wyl I aske of the
But A iiijᵉ leued gras rent to me
þe fyrst lefe is wery schryfte
þat other for þi synne thyn hert smerte
the iijde Is I wyl do no more so
þe iiijte is the penaunce þere-to
And haue thys leuys to-gedyr be set
A trew loue me clepyth it

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

I mad a sesonyng whan I was borne
To save mankynde that was for-lorne
Fol. 91b But wyth my charter here present
I make to manys soule a fefment
That I have graunted an yeve
To mankynde wyth me for to leve
In my kyngdom of hevyn blys
To have and to holde with-out mys
So in thys condycioun þat þou be kynde
And my wondyrfull werkys to have in mynde
Frely to have and frely to holde
Wyth alle the portenavnce for to be bolde

[1] In the margin opposite this line is written *nota bene*.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

I made a sesyng when y was borne
To saue mankynde þat was forlorne
But with my cha[r]tur her-yn present
I make to mannus sowle a feffement
That y haue granted & ȝeue
To mankynde with me to lyue

In my kyngdon of heuen blysse
To haue & to holde withowten mysse
With þis condycyon so þat þou be kynde
And haue þis chartor euer yn mynde

ffrely to haue & frely to holde
With alle þe pertynanse to be bolde
In my blesfull joye euer to dwelle
For þe rente þat y shall þe telle
Myn herytage þat ys so fre
ffor omage or ellys for fewte
No more woll y aske of þe
But a fowr leued grasse ȝelde to me [1]
That on lef ys verry shryfte with hert
That [2] oþer ys for synne sorowe smerte
The þryrde ys y wyll no more do so
The fowrþe ys do þy penanse þer-to

And when þese leuus togeder be sette
A trewe loue men klepe hyt

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

I made a sesynge whan y was borne
To saue mankynde þat was forlorne
But with my chartur here-in presente
I make to mannys soule a feffement
That y make haue graunted & ȝeue
To mankynde with me for to leue
2nd Col.
In my kyngdome of heuene blysse
To haue and to holde with-owt mysse
So in thys condycioun þat þou be kynde
And my wonderfull workis to haue in mynde
ffrely to haue and frely to holde
Wyth all þe purtenaunce for to be bolde
And in my blysfull yoye euer to dwell
ffor the rente þat y schall þe telle
Myn herytage that ys so free
ffor homage or ellys for fealte
Nomore wyll y aske of the
But a foure leued grasse ȝelde þou me
That oon lefe ys very schryfte of hert
That oþer ys for þy synne here smert
The thrydd y wyll no more do soo
The fourþe do þy penaunce mekely þerto
And þen þese leues to geder byn sett
A trewe loue men callyth hyt

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

And in my blysfull Ioy euer to dwelle
ffor the rent that I shalle the telle
Myn eritage that ys soo free
ffor omage of ellys for fewte
Nomore woll I aske of the
But a foure leved gras ȝelde þoū me
That oo lefe ys verray shryfte
That other lef ys for [3] þi synnys here smert
The thyrde ys I wolle no more do soo
The fourte ys do thy penavnce mekely þer-too
And whan these levis to-gedir be sett
A trewe loue men clepe hitt

[1] *Nota* in margin. [2] Ms. *Tath.* [3] Ms. þe deleted before *for.*

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

Of this rent be noght be-hynde
Yf thow wilt to heuen wynde
And yf þis rent þou trewly pay me
My grete mercy y yeue to the
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
the[1] seele þat þis chartour was selid with
Was y-made at the smyth
2nd Col.
Of golde and syluyr hit is nowȝt
But of stele and yren it is wrowȝt
With a spere my hert they stonge
þrow my lyuyr and my longe
Vppon my syde they made a wownde
that my hart blod ran to grownde
With thre naylis they þourlid me
throw foote and hond in-to the tre
This selynge was dyre y-bowght
At my hert rote hit was y-wrowȝt
Y-temperid with fyne vermelon
On my rede blod it ran downe
ffyue selis were sett there on
ffadir son god and man

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

of thys rent be þou noughte be-hynde
þe waye to heuene þane may I fende
And if þou thys rente trewly paye me
My gret mercy I schewe the
for if þou falle And gretly mistake
ȝet myn charture wyl I not for-sake
ȝif þou A-mende and mercy crawe
thyne herytage sothly þoue xalt haue
þe sealys þat it is a-selyd wyth
they werene I-made at a smyth
of gold ne syluere be they noughte
Fol. 46b of stele And Irone they bene wroughte
for wyth a spere of stele myne hert þei stonge
thorow my sydys and thorow myne lounge
vppone my syde they made a wounde
þat myn hert blood rane downe one grownde
And with þe nayles they bored me
thorow feet & hondys in-to þe tre
the selyng wexe was dere a-boughte
at myn hert rote it was soughte
al tempered wyth fyne vermeloun
of myn reed blood þat ranne A-downe
ve seles bene sett vp-one
fadyr and sone god & mane

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Of thys rent be not be-hynde
The wey to hevyn than myght þou fynde
And yif thys rent þou truly pay me
My gret mercy shall I shewe the
ffor yf thou falle & gretly mys-take
yet my charter wylle þat I þe not forsake
Yef þou a-mende and mercy crave
Thyn herytage sothely shalt thou have
The seelys that it ys a selyd wythe
They were made of a smyth
Of golde ne syluer be they nought
Of Stele and yryn they[2] wern wrought

[1] *This* was written first, and then cancelled.

[2] MS. *þe* deleted before *they*.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

Of þis rente be not behynde
The way to heuen þen may þou fynde
And ȝyf þou trewely þis rente pay me
My grete mercy þen shall y shewe þe
ffor ȝyf þou falle & grettely mystake
ȝyt my charter wyll not þat y þe forsake

ȝyf þou amende & mercy craue
Thyn erytage soþly þen shalt þou haue

The sele þat hit ys a-seled wyth
Hyt was made at no smyȝth
Of golde ne syluer ys hit nowȝth
Ne stele ny yren ys hit of wroȝth
But with a spere my hert was stongen

Thorow my syde & thorow my longen
Vpon my syde þat made a wonde
þat my hert blode ran down to þe grownde
And with yren naylus þey boredden me
Thorw fote & honde yn-to þe tre
The sesynge wax was dere y-bowȝt

Alle myn herte rote hit was y-sowȝt
All y-compered with fyn vermelon
Of my rede blode þat ran adown
Factum est cor meum tanquam liquescens in medio uentris mei
ffyue seles be sette þervpon
ffadyr & sone god & mon

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

Of thys rente be not be-hynde
The wey to heuene þene mytt þou fynde
And yf þou þys rente trewly pay me
My grete mercy wole y schewe þe
ffor yf þou falle & gretly mystake
If my chartour wole þat y þe not forsake
If þou amende and mercy craue
Thyn herytage soþely þen schalt þou haue

The selys þat hyt ys selyd with
They were made at a smyth
Of golde ne syluyr be þey noght
Of stele and yren they were wroght
ffor with a spere of stele my hert was stongen
Thorow my syde & thorow my longene
Vpon my syde þey made a wounde
That my herte blode ran to grounde

And with yren nayles they bored me
Thorow fete & hondes in-to þe tre
The sesynge was dere y-boght
Fol. 41b
At my herte rote hyt was y-soght
All tempurd with fyne vermyloun
Of my redd blood þat rane a-downe
ffactum est cor meum tanquam cera liquescens in medio ventris mei
ffyue celys put ther-one
ffadur and sone god & man

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

ffor with a spere of stele myn hert was stongen
Thorowe my syde and þorugh my longen
Op-on my syde they made a wovnde
That myn herte blood ran to þe grovnde
And wyth yryn naylys they boredyn me
Thorowe feet and handys in-to the tre

And selyng wex was dere I-bought
At myn hert rote it was sought
Fol. 92a
Alle I-temperyd wythe fyn vermylone [1]
Of my red blode that ran a-dovne
ffactum est cor meum tanquam cera liquessens in medio ventrys mei
Fyve selys been set ther-vp-on
ffadyr and sonne god and man

[1] *The Chartur* is written in the margin.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

the fythe that y louyd meste
that y come of holy goste
And there-fore þou myste well yse
that y am a man of grete poteste
Of playne power þat y myght make
A crowne of thornys they did me take
And that be-toknyth that y am kynge

And frely mey yeue my owne thynge
And that reportid the iewis all
On kneys by-fore me did they fall

lorde they seyde in her skȯrnynge
Hayle be thow lord iewis kynge
By-twyxte to theuys þe chartour was selid
both were seke that othir was helid
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Derewardly me thurstyd sore
Eysell and gall þey toke me thore
this was the drynke they toke to me
Such drynke ax y none of the
But that thow louy well thi fone
Othir drynke ax y none

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

þe fyrst þat is to be-leue most
þat I came of þe holy gost
And þerre-for here may þou see
þat I ame kynge of gret poste
In playne pouer thy state to make
A crowne of thornes one myn hede here I take
thys crowne be-tokenyth þat I am kynge
And frely may ȝeue myne owene thynge
Wyttenessyth the iewes Alle
one knees they gunne be-fore me downe falle
And lowde Seyd in hyr skornynge
All heyll be þou iewes kynge
Be-twene ij Iewys þis chartour was Selyd
Fol. 47a Both were syk the one was helyd
Be-twene to iewes was I putt
Ihesus hygh & kynge of ryghte
Explicit feoffomente Ihesus

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

The fyfte þat ys beleve mvst
That I come of the holy goost
And ther-fore here may þou now see
That I am a kynge of grete postee
In pleyne power thy state to make
A crowne of thornys on myn hed I take
Thys crowne be-tokenyth þat I am kynge
And frely may yeve the þin owyn thynge
Thys witnessyth the Iewys alle
On knese the gonne be-fore me falle
And lowde seyde in here skornyng
Alle hayle be thou lorde of Iewys kyng

COTT. CALIG. A II.

The fyfte ys þat þou beleue most
That y kam of þe holy goste
And þerfor her may þou now se
That y am a kyng of gret powste
In playn power þy state to make
A crowne of þornus on my hedde y take
Thys crowne betokeneþ þat y am kyng
And frely may ȝef myn owene þyng
Thys wytnessed þe jewys alle
On kneus þey gan before me falle
And lowde sayde yn her skornyng
All hayle lorde & of jewes þe kyng
Betwene two þeuus þis charter was seled
Boþe wer seke þat on was heled
Betwene two theuus hyȝe y-pyght
In token þat y was lord of myȝth
This be tokeneth both good & yll
At þe day of dome how y may saue or spyll
Well drye y was & thursted sore
But of such drynk myȝth y no more
ffor aysell & galle þey ȝef to me
But on drynke aske y of þe
That þou be louyng towards þy fone
Oþer drynke of þe aske y non

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

The fyrste þat be-leue muste
That y come of the holy goste
And therfore here may þou now see
That y am kyng of prete [2] pouste
In playne power þey sate [3] to make
A crowne of þornys on my hedd y take
Thys be-tokenyth þat y was kyng
And frely may yeue þyn owne thyng
Thys wytnessyth þe yewes all
On knees þey can be-fore me falle
And lowde seyde in ther scornyng
All heyle be þou of yewes kynge
Betwene ij theues þe chartur was selyd
Bothe were syke that oon was helydd
Betwne ij theues on hye y-pyght
In tokyn þat y was kyng of myght
Thys be-tokenyth bothe goode & ylle
At þe day of dome to saue or spylle
Well drye y was y [4] thursted sore
But of soche drynke myȝt y no more
ffor eysell and galle they yaf to me
But oon drynke y aske of thee
That þou be louyng toward þy foone
Other drynke of the aske y noone

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Be-twene two thevys þis chartur ys selyd
Bothe were syke that oon was helyd
Be-twen two thevys on hyȝe I-pyght
I tokyn that I was lorde of myght
Thys be-tokenyth bothe good and ille
At the day of dome to save or [1] spille
Well dry I was I thrusted sore
But of suche drynke myght I no more
For eysylle and galle they yaffe to me
But oo drynke aske I of thee
That þou be lovyng toward thy foon
Other drynke of the aske I noon

[1] Ms. *and* deleted and *or* inserted.
[2] Thus the MS. *Grete?*
[3] Thus the MS. Doubtless an error for *state*.
[4] *y* is inserted above the line.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

257 Yf thou loue me haue this *in* mynde
And to thy enemy loke þou be kynde
Ensample þou myȝt se by me
260 ffor loue of my foes y honge on tre
Be mercyfull y bydd the
And on thyne enemyes haue pite
And as y do by thyne do þou by myne
264 y-sauyd yf þou wolt be fro hell pyne
a Yf þou do as y the telle
b Y warant the fro the paynys of hell [1]
Fol. 236b
265 And that witnysseth mo than one
Mark luke mathu and Iohne
And namely my moder swete
that for me the blody teris did lete
There sche stode vndir the rode
270 he sey my body all in blode
ffram the foote vp to the hedd
there was noght ellis but blod reede
273 No word to me myght sche speke
274 Hit semyd hir hert to breke
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
277 ffor sorow of hir y made a crye
278 And seyde *Eloy lamazabatany* [2]

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

257 Yf thou me loue have thys in mynde
To thyn enemyis be thou ryght kynde
Ensample þou myght take here of me
260 ffor love of my foon I honge on tree
To my fader I pray the
Vp-on myn enemyes thou have pete
And as I doo do thou thyne
264 Savid shall þou þanne be from helle pyne
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
here been witnesse more thanne oon
266 Marcke Mathewe luke and Iohn

[1] These lines occur in this MS. only.
[2] See p. xxxiv for mark of ownership at the end of this folio.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

257 ȝef þou me loue haue þis yn mynde
To þy enemyes be þou ryght kynde
Ensaumpull þou myȝt take her of me
260 For loue of my fone y honge on tre
But my fadyr y pray the
Vpon my enemyes þat þou haue pyte
And as y do. do þou to þyne
Then saued shalt þou be fro helle pyne
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
265 He ben wytnesses mo þen on
Marke mathew luke & jon
And namely my modyr swete
That for me blody teres gan lete
ffor þer she stode vnþer þe rode
270 She sawe my body all on blode
That fro my foot vnto my hedde
I was not ellys but blode reed
No worde to me myȝth she speke
Hit semed well her hert wolde breke
275 No wonþer hit was þowȝ she wer woo
When she sawe me on þe crosse so y-do
ffor sorow of her y made a cry
278 And sayde well lowde *hely lamaȝabatany*

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

257 If þou me loue haue þys in mynde
To thyn enemyes be þou kynde
Ensaumpull þou myȝt take here of me
260 ffor loue of my foon y honge on a tre
But mercy fadur y prey the
Vpon myn enemyes haue þou petee
And as y do do thou to thyne
264 Sauyd schalt þou be fro helle pyne
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
2nd Col.
265 Here byn wytnesse mo than oone
Marke mathewe luke and Iohne
And namely my moder swete
That for my body teres can lete
ffor there sche stode vndur þe rode
270 Sche sawe my body all on bloodd
That fro my fote vnto my hedd
I was noght ellys but all blode redd
Hyt semeth well hur herte wold breke
No worde to me þere myȝt sche speke [1]
275 No wondur hyt was þowe sche were wo
When sche sawe me on crosse y-doo
ffor sorowe of hur y made a crye
278 And seyde well lowde *hely lamaȝbatani*

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Fol. 92b
267 And namely my [1] modir swete
That for me blody terys gan lete
ffor there she stode vndir the rode
270 She sawe my bodi alle on bloode
That froo my foot vn-to myn hed
I was not ellys but alle blode reed
It semed wele here herte wolde breke
No worde to me *þer* myght she speke [2]
275 No wonder it was þowe she were woo
Whan she me sawe on the crosse I-doo
ffor sorowe of hyr I made a cry
278 And seyde full lowde *Eli lamaȝabathani*

[1] Ms. *na* deleted before *my*.
[2] Lines 273 and 274 are here inverted from the order of their occurrence in the other MSS.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

279 Anon sche fill downe in sownynge
280 By-fore me at my dayngе
the paynys that y hadd were ful sore
ffor my modir they were the more
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
285 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
the peynes that he sufferd were smert
the swyrde of sorow peryschid my hert
And when seynt Johone y hir by-toke
290 Sche caste on me a sory loke
As thowȝe y had hir forsake
And anothir sone had hir y-take
ȝit ar the chartour selyd was
ffor-soth sche sayde alas alas
295 Vppon my schuldir y leyde my hed
When y drowen to be dede
Y was so bare of worldly goode
What y schulde day vppon the roode
I nadde whare-with for to take
300 Reste my hedd for to make
Poure man haue this in mynde
302 Whan þou in worlde no rest myst fynde

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

. . . . . .
. . . . . .

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

A-None she fell dovne in swownyng
280 There to-fore me at my dyeng
The peynys þat I suffred were full sore
But for my modyr þey were the more
Whan I leyde myn hed here & there
My modyr chavnged alle hyr chere
285 fful fayne she wolde have holpyn me
But for the Iewys it myght not be
The peynys þat I had were full smert
The swerde of sorowe perished hyr he
Whanne seynt Iohn I here be-toke
290 She cast on me a drery loke

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

Anon she fell down yn swonyng
Ther be-for me at my dyyng
The paynus þat y suffred wer full sore
But for my moder þe wer well more
When y layde my hedde her & þer
My moþer changed all he[r] chere
ffull fayn she wolde haue holpen me
But for þe jewys hit myȝt not be
The paynus þat y hadde wer full smert
The swerde of sorow persedde her hert
When seyn john y her betoke
She caste on me a drwly loke
As þowȝ y hadde her all forsake
And to an-oþer sone her be-take
And or þis charter wryten þus was
ffull ofte she sayde Alas Alas
Vpon my shuldur y layde myn hedde
When y þrowȝ faste vnto my deed
ffor so bare y was of worldly gode
When y shulde dye vpon þe rode
That y ne hadde wher-of to take
Reste to myne hedde wher-of to make
Pouer & ryche haue þis yn mynde
When þou yn þis worlde no reste kan fynde

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

Anon sche felle downe in swownyng
There be-fore me at my dying
The peynes þat y suffurde were full sore
But for my modur þey were þe more
When y leyde myn hedd here & þere
my modur chaunged all hur chere
ffull fayne sche wolde haue holpen me
But for þe yewes hyt myght not be
Peynes þat sche suffurde were full smert
The swerde of sorowe perysched hur hert
When to seynt Iohn y hur be-toke
Sche caste on me a drery loke
As thowe y had hur all for-sake
And anothur sone y had be-take
But or þys chartur þus wreten was
Well ofte sche seyde allas allas
Vpon my schouldur y leyde my hedd
Whan y drowe faste vn-to my dedd
ffor so bare y was of worldly goode
When y schulde dye vpon the rode
That y ne hadd where-of to take
Reste to myn hedd for to make
Pore and ryche for to haue in mynde
Whan þou in þe worlde no reste may fynde

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

As thowe I had[1] here alle for-sake
And another sonne I had here be-take
And or thys chartur thus wretyn was
Wele ofte she sayde alas alas
Vp-on my shulder I leyde myn hede
Whan I drowe faste vn-to my dede
ffor soo bare was I of worldly[2] good
Whanne I shulde dye vp-on the rood
That I ne hadde wher-of to take
Rest to myn hede for to make
Power and ryche have evir in Mynde
Whan þou in the worlde no reste may fynde

[1] The scribe repeated the words *I had* and then deleted them.
[2] Corrected from *worldlys*.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

Whate rest y had for loue of the
Whan y was naylid on the tree
Well thow mayste wyte y had none
ffor y was a-monge my foene
When thow art a-monge thy foen browth[1]
Be redy to suffre with all þy thowght
To stonde at the barre hit is ful hard
As þou art worthi to take þy reward
Yf thow for me suffre wronge
þou schalt stonde in my ryȝt honde
Yf þou vengiste þe on thi brothir
þou schalt stonde in that othir

2nd Col.

Yf thow wolt the soth schewe
As thow louyste thow schalt owe
thowȝe y be neuyr so full of woo
ȝyt of this worlde y moste goo
In paynes of deth y am now bownde
My sowle wull passe withyn this stownde
By-holde man with hert and eye
ffor thy loue how y schall deye[2]
I honge on crosse for loue of the
fforsake thy synnes for loue of me
Mercy asketh a-mendis sone
And for-ȝeue y woll all þat is mysdone

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

What rest I had oonly for the
Whanne I hynge nayled vp-on the tree

Fol. 93a

Wele may thowe knowe that I hadde noon[3]
For there I was a-monge my foon
And whanne thou a-monge thy foon art brouȝt
Be redy to suffre wyth alle thi thouȝt

To stonde at barre it ys wele harde
As ben worthy to take rewarde
Thou shalt for me suffre wronge
Thou shalt ben sothely on my rygh honde
And þou þat wengyst the vppon þ brothyr
There stodyst thou not but on that othe

[1] *Exm* (*Exemplum*) is written in the margin.
[2] *Expirauit* is written in the margin.
[3] *The Chartur* is here written in the margin.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

What reste y hadde only for þe
When y henge nayled vpon a tre
Well may þou knowe þat y hadde none
ffor ther y was among my fone
And when þou among þy fone art browȝt
Be redy to suffre with all þy powȝt
To stonde at þe barre hit ys well harde
As ȝe bene worþy to take rewarde
Thou þat for me sufferest wronge
Þou shalt stonde on my riȝt honde
And þou þat vengest þe on þy brodyr

Ther stondest þou not but on þat odyr
ȝyf þu wyll þe soþe knowe
Ryȝth as þou sowest so sha[l]t þu mowe

I fele me now so full of wo
That out of þis worlde y moste go
With peynus of þeth harde am y bownde
My sowle shall passe her yn a stounde
Beholde now mon with herte & ye
ffor þy loue how y shall dye
I honge on crosse for loue of þe
ffor-sake þe synne for loue of me.
Mercy þou aske & amende þe sone
And y woll forȝyf þat þou hast mysdone

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

What reste y had oonly for the
Fol. 42ᵃ When y hynge naylyd vpon a tree
Well may þou know þat y had none
ffor there y was amonge my foone
And when þou among þy foon art broght
Be redy to suffur wyth all yowre þoght
To stonde at the barre hyt ys full harde
As ye be worthy to take rewarde
Thou þat for me suffurste wronge
Thou schalt be soþely on my ryȝt honde
And þou that vengest the vpone þy brodur

There stondest þou not but on þat othur
If thou wylt the sothe knowe
Soche as þou sowest soche schalt þou mowe

I fele me now so full of woo
That owt of þe worlde y muste go
With peynes of dethe harde am y bounde
My soule schall passe here in þys stounde
Be-holde now man wyth herte & eye
ffor thy loue how y schall dye
I honge on crosse for loue of the
ffor-sake thy synne for loue of me
Mercy aske and amende þe sone
And y [1] for-yeue þe that ys mysdoone

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Yef thou wolt the sothe to knowe
Ryght as þou sowyst suche shalt þou mowe

I fele me nowe so fulle of woo
That out of thys worlde I mvst goo
Wyth peynys of deth hard am I bovnde
My soule shall passe here in thys stovnde
Be-holde nowe man wyth herte and yȝe
For thy loue howe I shalle dye

I honge on crosse for loue of the
ffor-sake thy synne for loue of me
Mercy aske and amende the soone
And I for-yeve þe that ys mysdoone

[1] *y* is inserted above the line.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

fful mercyfull y am trewly
to hem that woll my mercy cry
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
he that woll no mercy craue
Of me no mercy schall he haue
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
To hell y went þis chartour to schew
By-fore sathanas þat grete schrew
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
there y covennant y-made was
By-twyxte me and sathanas
All my catell to take a-way
that he had by fals pray
The thrid day y a-ros and made a faste
Both to the meste and eke to þe leste

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

ffor fulle of mercy I am trevly
To alle that crye mercy
What shall it greve to repent the
And in endles Ioy to dwelle wyth me
ffor thoo that wolle no mercy crye[1]
They shalle to helle whanne they shalle dye
Nowe whanne I have oo worde spok
Myn yȝen to-gedyr I must loke
Thou synfull man have pitee on me
ffor thyn owyn soule pur charyte
Thys worde I mvst nedys speke
And thanne myn herte shall to-brel

[1] MS. *craue* was written before *crye* and then cancelled.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

ffor full of mercy y am trewly
To all þo þat woll cryn for mercy
What shall hit greue to repente þe
And yn endeles joye to dwelle with me
ffor þo þat woll no mercy crye
They go to helle when þey shall dye
Now when y haue oo worde spoken
My yen togeder y most lokene
Now synfull man haue pyte on me
ffor þy owene sowle for charyte
Thys worde y most nepus speke
And þen myn herte shall to-breke
Consummatum est þis chartur ys done
Man now hast þou ouercome þy fone

Anon to helle y went þis charter to shewe
Before sathanas þat mykyll shrewe
Thus y hym shent & browȝt to grounde
Thorow my paynes of spytuus wounde
And after a couenante made þer was
Betwene me & sathanas
All my catell to haue a-way
That he berafte me with his play
The þrydde day y rose & made a feste
To þe moste & to þe leste

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

ffor full of mercy y am trewly
To all tho that cryen mercy
What schall hyt greue to repente þe
And in endeles yoye to dwelle with me
ffor tho þat wyll no mercy crye
They schall to helle when þey schall dye
Now when y haue oon worde y-spoke
Myn eyen to-gedur y muste looke
Thou synfull man haue pete on me
ffor thyn owne soule for charyte
Thys worde y muste nedys speke
And then myn herte schall all to-breke
Consummatum est Thys chartur ys done
Man now haste þou ouercome all þy foone

A-none y went to helle þys to schewe
Be-fore satanas þat moche schrewe
2nd Col.
There y hym schent & broght to grounde
Thorow my nayles a spetous wounde
Aftur a couenaunt made ther was
Be-twene me and satanas
All my catell to haue a-wey
That he be-rafte me be hys play
The thrydde day y rose & made a feste
To the moost and to the leste

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Consummatum est thys chartur ys doon
Fol. 93b
Man nowe hast þou over-come alle thy foon
A-noon to helle I went thys chartur to shewe
By-fore sathanas þat moyche shrewe
There I hym shent and brought to grounde

Thorugh my naylys and spituous wounde
And after a covenaunt made there was
Be-twene me and sathanas
Alle my catell to have a-way
That he be-rafte me wyth hys play
The thryd day I roos and made a feste
To the most and to the leeste

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

the feste is both ioy and blisse
Easter day y-clepyd hit is
Saue a denture y bere *with* me
Whare-of þou schalt sycoure be
In the preste-is honde flesch and blode
ffor the was naylyd vppon the rode
Ho-so beleuyth very there-vppon
Endeles payne schall haue none
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
A well fayre sygne y leuyd also
A token of the crosse *þat* y was *in* do
To bere *with* the where-euyr þou go
the to sauy fro thy foe
Nowe to my fadir schall y wende
His will y haue browȝt to ende
I take my leue as ye seyne
At the day of dome y come a-ȝen
Man to deme aftir his werke
As is the by-leue of holy cherch
And euyr aftir in ioy to dwell
to be saue fro the peyne of hell
Fol. 237
Saue a cote armo*ur* y bere *with* me
the which y toke to lyue*ry* the

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

That feste was of Ioye and blys
Ester day clepid it ys
One endent*ur* I left *with* the
Where-of thou shalt evir sekyr be
In the prestys honde my fleshe my blode
That for the was honged on þe roode
Who-so-evir *þat* beleveth ther-on
Endlese peyne shall he fynde noon
Alle-though I dye yet dyeth not he
ffor vppe shall he ryse and leve *with* m
And a wel fayre sygne I toke the her
also
A tokene of the crosse that I was on do

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

The feste was of joye & blys
Estur day called hit ys
Oon endentur y lafte with þe
Wher-of þou shalt euer sykur be
In þe preestus honde my flessh & blode
That for þe was honged on þe rode
Ho-so-euer hit be þat beleueth þer-on
Endeles payne shall he fynde none
All-þowȝe y dye ȝet dyeth not he
For vp shall he ryse & leue with me
A well fayr syngne y toke þe her also

A token of þe crosse þat y was on do
To bere with þe wher-euer þou go
To saue þe euer fro þy fo
To my fader now moste y go
ffor all hys wyll now haue y do
Her y take my leue ȝo haue me seyne
At þe day of dome y come agayne
Mon to dome aftyr hys werke
Thys ys to beleue of all holy kyrke
And euer after yn joye to dwelle
Saued to be fro þe paynes of helle
But a kote Armour y ber her with me
The whych y toke of þy lyuere

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

The feste was yoye and blysse
Estur day clepyd hyt ys
Won enture y lafte wyth the
Where-of þou schalt euyr seker bee
In preestes honde my flesche & blood
That for þe was honged on þe roode
Who-so-euyr hyt be þat leueþ þer-one
Endeles deþe schall he fynde noone
All-thogh y dye ȝyt dyeth not he
ffor vp he schall ryse & leue with me
And a well feyre sygne y toke þe here & so
A tokyn of þe crosse þat y was on doo
To bere with þe so wyde thou goo
To saue the euer fro thy foo
To my fadur y muste goone
ffor all hys wylle y haue done
Here y take my leue ye haue me seyn
At þe day of dome y come a-geyne
Man to deme aftur hys wyrke
Thys ys the wylle of hooly kyrke
And euer aftur in yoye to dwelle
Sauydd for to be fro þe peynys of helle
But a cote armour y bere here with me
The whych y toke of thy lyuere

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

To bere wyth the so whedyr thou goo
To save the evir fro thy foo
To my fader I mvust goon
ffor alle hys wylle I have doon
here I take my leve ȝe have me seyne
At the day of dome I come ageyne
Man to deme after hys werke
Thys ys the wylle of alle holy kyrke
And evir after in Ioye to dwelle
Savid for to be fro the peynys of helle
But a cote armvre I bere here with me
The wiche I toke of thy leverey

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

The cote is ryche and fyne
Hit is y-wrowȝt of rede satyne
A well fayre mayde me hit reyȝt
And oute of hir bosom y hit broȝt
Hit is y-pouderyd with roses rede
Wowndes y þoureled whan y was dede
And whan y come a-yen to the
By the cote þou schalt know me
Ye that buth of rent be-hynde
And habbeth me noght in mynde

2nd Col.

Sore mowe ye be a-drade
Whan this chartour schall be radd
Of the Iustyse be well ware
Certeyse he nell no man spare

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

Power with my fadir y haue
to saue all hem that woll me craue

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

The cote ys ryche [1] and well fyne
The chavmpe ys nowe of rede Sathyn
A wele fayre mayde me it ought
And out of here boure I it brout

Fol. 94a

Poudred hit ys nowe wyth v rosys rede
With woundys that I suffrede thorowe peynes of dede

And whanne I come ageyne to the
By thys clothyng may þou knowe me
Thoo that ben of thys rent be-hynde
And these woundys wole not have in mynde

Wele sore they shalle dyen a-dradde
Whanne thys chartyr shall be radde

[1] *Fyne* was first written and cancelled.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

The kote ys both ryche & fyne
The campe ys now of rede satyne
A well fayr mayde hit towȝte
And out of her bowr y hit browȝte
Powdered hit ys now with fyfe roses rede
With wonþus þat y þoled with paynes of dede
And when y come aȝeyn to þe
Be my cloþyng þou mayst knowe me
And þo þat ben of þer rente behynde
And þes wondus woll not haue y mynde
ffull sore shall þey be a-ferde
When þis chartur shall be redde
Of þe hyȝ justys be þey full ware
For þere shall he non spare
ffor all þat euer þou hast wroȝth
ffro þy yowth þen shall be sowȝth
But power of my fader y haue
To saue all þo þat mercy wyll craue
And pay þy rente ȝyf þu haue space
ȝyf þou of me wolte haue grace
And yf þou dȝe full soþenly
Vpon þy sowle y shall haue mercy
A couenaunt ys made betwen vs to
As y haue do so most þou do

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

The cote ys ryche & well fyne
The champe ys now of redd satyne
A well feyre mayde me hyt oght
And owt of hur bowre y hyt broght
Poudurd hyt ys with .v. rosys red[d] [1]
With woundes þat y suffurd þorow pey[n]es of .[de]dd
And when y come ageyne to the
Be thys cloþyng may þou knowe mee
Fol. 42b
Tho þat byn of rente be-hynde
And þese woundys wole not haue in mynde
Well sore they schull be adredd
Whan thys chartur schall be radd
Of þe hye Iustyce be þou full ware
ffor-sothe þere schall y noon spare
ffor all þy synne þat þou haste wroght
ffrom thy youthe þey schall be soght
But power of my fadur y haue
To saue all tho that mercy craue
And paye þy rente yf þou haue space
If thou wyll of me haue grace
And yf thou dye full sodenlye
Vpon þy soule y schall haue mercy
A couenaunt y made be-twene vs two
As y haue done so muste þou doo

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Of the hyȝe Iustyse be they full ware
ffor-sothe there shall be no spare
ffor alle thi synne that þou hast wrought
ffrom thy youthe they shall be sought
But power of my fader I have
To save alle thoo that mercy crave
And pay thi rent yf þou haue space
And yef thou wilte of me haue grace
And yif þou dye ffull sodeynly
Vppon thy soule I shall have mercy
A couinavnte ys made be-twene vs twoo
As I haue doon so mvst thou doo

[1] Blurred in the MS.

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 3. 26.

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400 . . . . . .
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. . . . . .
. . . . . .
405 . . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

409 there-fore y rede pay well *your* rent
410 that with the fende ye be not schent
With mochill ioye þan schall ye come
And i*n* my blysse than schal ye wone
to that blysse he may vs brynge
414 that made of noȝt all man*er* thynge
Explicit Carta ihesu Christi

CAMB. UNIV. Ii. 4. 9.

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Loke what thy pater noster seythe þe too[1]
400 Ryght as I for-yeve for-yeve thou moo
Do ther-after yif thou wilte
So that thy soule be nat spilte
Vp-on alle holy writte I may put me
Whether I be curteys or noon to thee
405 Be thou lered or be thou lewde
The way to hevyn I have the shewed

[1] MS. *the too the* was written first, then altered.

COTT. CALIG. A. II.

Loke what þy pat*er* no*ster* sayth to þe
Lyke as y forȝeue forȝyf þou me
Do þe*r*aftur ȝyf þat þou wylte
So þat þy sowle be not spylte
Vpon all holy wryte y may put me
Whe*r*e*r* y be curteys or not to þe
Be þou lered or be þou lewed
The weye to heuen y haue þe shewed
Be þe tyxte of holy wryte
In what place þou wolte seke hyt
Therfor y bydde þe pay þe rente
That w*ith* þe fende þou be not shente
Wyth me to blysse þen þou shalt come
And yn my blysse þou shalt wone
To þat blysse y may þe brynge
That of nowȝte made þe & all þyng
Ihesu yn þat holy place
Gr*a*unte[1] vs to se þy holy face Amen
Explicit

CAMB. UNIV. Ff. 2. 38.

Loke what thy pat*er* noste*r* seyþ to the
Ryght[2] as y foryeue for-yeue þou mee
Do ther-aftur yf thou wylte
So that thy soule be not spylte
Vpon all holy wrytt y may put me
Whedur þat y be curtes or not to the
Be thou lernedd or be þou lewde
The wey to heuene y haue þe schewde
By the tyxte of hooly wrytt
In what place thou wylte seke hyt
Therfore y bydd the pay the rente
That w*ith* þe fende þou be not schente
W*ith* me to blysse thou schalt come
And in my blysse þou schalt wone
To blysse y may the brynge
That of noght made all thynge

CAMB. UNIV. Ee. 2. 15.

Bi the tyxte of holy wrytte
In what place þou wilte seke ite
Ther-fore I byd the pay thy rent
That wyth the fende þou be not shent
Wyth me to blysse thou shalt come
And in my blysse thou shalt wone
To that blysse I may the brynge
That of nought made alle thynge Amen

[1] In the MS. the sign for *ra* occurs above the *n*.
[2] *y* was written after *Ryght* and then deleted.

APPENDIX I

Observations on the Language of the Long and Short Charters

These observations are based, in each case upon what I have judged to be the critical reading of the text. Cases where it is impossible to determine the critical reading have been ignored, and those where a reasonable doubt exists have been especially noticed. The evidence for the pronunciation of final *e* in the Short Charter and in the B-text of the *Long Charter* is not utilized as extensively, since in the opinion of the writer there are too many doubtful readings and corrupt lines to enable one to rely upon the results of the tests. In the case of the A-text of the *Long Charter*, however, it is hoped that the results are reliable, since the manuscripts, in most cases, enable one to arrive at the reading of the original.

THE LONG CHARTER, A-TEXT

§ 1. Final *e*.

A. Rhyme words.

Words ending, in Anglo-Saxon, in final *e*, rhyme only with others so ending, except in the following cases:[1]

I. *blod* O-stem, acc. sing. } in two instances,
rod A-stem, acc. sing. } 77-78; 207-208.

fode Wk. stem, acc. sing. } 59-60.
blode O-stem, acc. sing. }

[1] Doubtful cases are (a) *hylle* (M. Jo-stem, acc. sing.)—*ylle* (Scand. *illr*) 163-164; and (b) *lyf-lyf* (O-Stem, acc. sing.) 45-46, where it is doubtful whether the first *lyf* is noun or adjective. I find no example elsewhere of *lyf* as an adjective. *Adoun*, as in the *Troilus* (cf. Kittredge, *Observ.* Ch. Soc. Ser. 2, XXVIII, 201, note 1) takes no final *e*. See 9 where it rhymes with *toun* (acc.), and 146, where it rhymes with *vermylon* (OFr. *vermillon*).

frende M. Cons. stem, acc. sing.
ende M. Jo-stem, acc. sing. } 233-234.

blis Ja-stem, acc.
ys Pres. Indic. 3rd sing. } 203-204.

II. Rhymes containing *weyë*:[2]

(by the) *weye* O-stem, acc.
ye N. Wk. stem, acc. } 93-94.

(in the) *way* O-stem, acc.
pray OFr. *proie, preie* } 65-66.

III. Containing a petrified dative:

(to) *grounde* O-stem, dat. sing.
wounde A-stem, acc. sing. } 191-192.

B. Final *e* in the Interior of the Line.

The following cases exist of final *e* pronounced in the interior of the line; when sounded before a vowel or *h*, it is marked by an asterisk:

I. Nouns, Singular.

A-Stems.

(a) nom. sing.
lawë, 14.
louë, 53.

(b) in compounds.
soulë-fode, 59.
louë-dede(s), 62, 91, 114.
louë-drynk, 167.

Ja-Stems.

(a) acc. sing.
blissë, 230.

(b) in compound.
hellë-pyne, 229.

[2] In Chaucer final *e* in *weyë* is frequently sounded; cf. rhymes with infinitives, *Canterbury Tales*, B 1698, 1747, and *Prologue* 467, *etc.*

Weak Stems.

(a) masc. acc. sing.
tymë, 18.

(b) feminine.
erthë, 41.*
hertë, 140.*

I-Stem.

dedë, 50, 132.

U-Stem, masc. acc.

sonë, 148.

Romance Words.
erytagë, 134. *festë*, 201, 203.

Latin Words.
Lukë, 170.

II. Verbs.

(a) Infinitives.
sechë, 10.
makë, 58.
leuë, 149.

(b) Pret. Ind. 1st sing.
dedë, 14.*
woldë, 18.
madë, 61; *haddë*, 68; *mostë*, 213.

(c) Pret. Ind. 2nd sing.
geuë, 168.

(d) Pret. Ind. 3rd sing.
sholdë, 16; *keptë*, 17.

(e) Imperative sing.
cleymë, 232.

III. Adjectives.

(a) Plural, weak.
oldë, 20.
lestë, 198.*

(b) Plural, strong.
fyuë, 221.
þusë, 226.

(c) Singular, weak.
ownë, 54, 77.
ferdë [*fēorþa*], 124.

(d) Strong, with final organic *e*.
(1) in the predicate.
trewë, 21.

(e) Strong, in attrib. position
wildë, 163.*
allë, 5 (before *ioye*).

(2) in compound.
trewë, 126, 130.

IV. Adverbs.

morë, 39, 119; *loudë,* 157; *sorë,* 227.

V. Prepositions.

betwenë, 194.[3]

VI. Pronunciation of the plural inflexional endings of verbs (i. e., *e, eth* [imperative], or *en*) is necessary to the scansion of lines 71, 81, 95, and to the scansion of 138 and 147, unless the past participles in these lines had the prefix *y*. Plural inflexional endings in *fo* and *hand,* lines 40 and 142, must also have been sounded, as the metre shows.

From the above evidence afforded by the rhyme and metre of the A-text, it is clear that, at the time of its composition, final *e* was generally sounded. The exceptions noted under A may be regarded as makeshifts of the poet, in the face of the body of evidence on the other side.

§2. Dialect of the Original Text of the Extant Manuscripts

A. The rhymes of the A-text that throw light upon the question of the dialect of the original text are few; but these few are clear evidence as far as they go:

I. That the dialect was not Northern is shown by

(a) the stressed vowels of the following rhyme words:[4]

[3] If my readings for lines 6, 19, and 122 are correct (see pp. c-cvii) final *e* is sounded also in the following cases: ***withoute,*** 6; ***fyue*** (pl. adj.), 19; *smerte* (noun) 122. Lines metrically defective are 48 and 220 where two accented syllables fall together: (a) ***thúrst*** and *chéle;* (b) *boúr* and *I.* Lines offering difficulties in scansion because of doubtful readings are: 52, 120, 152, 154, 177, 179, 196.

[4] *scholde*, *wolde* } 13-14, shows that the dialect was not Northumbrian.

y-do / *fo* } 25-26. *so* / *euermo*[5] } 123-124.

also / *y-do* } 209-210. *gon* / *y-don* } 213-214.

(b) the participle *go* or *y-go* in line 47, rhyming with *wo*. In a Northern text the participial form would be *gan*, and there would be no rhyme.[6]

(c) Contributory evidence in the pronunciation, in certain cases (see §1, BVI.) of plural inflexional endings of verbs.

II. The prefix *y* in the participle *y-do*, 25, 50 and 210; *y-wryton*, 82; *y-ȝeue*, 109; *y-seled*, 159; *y-pyzt*, 161, show Midland or Southern origin, since the prefix is necessary to the scansion of these lines.[7]

III. Final conclusive evidence that the dialect of the common original was Midland is found in the rhyme of lines 87-88, *ben* (Pres. Indic. 3rd pl.)—*sen*, which appears in all the extant manuscripts.

[5] The Northern form *ga* of MS. *F* is due to the scribe's emending to obtain a Northern rhyme for *swa*. Of *euerma* I find no occurrence later than the 13th century, either in the North or South; See *O. E. Homilies* I (*E.E.T.S.* Orig. Ser.) p. 165, v. 106, and p. 171, v. 200, and for *næfrema* see *Ormulum* 4206 and *O. E. Homilies*, p. 63, v. 166. The regular Northern form for *euermo* was *euermar(e)*; See *Cursor Mundi* 98, 410, 1920, 23934.

[6] I add also to the evidence against Northern origin the contracted form *skyft* in line 122, MS. *G*, which I have tried to establish as the correct reading (see pp. c ff). Other contributory evidence is found in the pronunciation of the plural inflexional endings of verbs (*e*, *eth* imperative, or *en*) which is necessary to the scansion of lines 71, 81, and 95, and also to the scansion of 138 and 147, unless the past participles in these lines had the prefix *y*. Were the prefix *y* sounded, the fact would also point to Midland or Southern origin.

[7] The prefix *y* must also have been sounded in the following cases, or else final *e* of the forms:

haue (1st sing. pres. Indic.) lines 3 and 47.
were (2nd sing. and 3rd sing. pret. Indic.) lines 7 and 50.
sore (adverb) 165.

THE LONG CHARTER, B-TEXT.

§ 1. Final *e*.

A. Rhyme words.

A study of the rhymes in B not occurring in A reveals six cases in which words ending, in Anglo-Saxon, in final *e*, organic or inflexional, rhyme with words not ending in *e*:

I. *boke* F. Cons. stem, acc.
loke Verb, infin. } 1-2.

wende Verb, infin.
fende M. nd-stem, acc. } 3-4.

understonde Verb, infin.
londe N. O-stem, acc. } 17-18.

seyne (or *sowen*) Verb, pp.
owen Wk. adj. pl. } 19-20.

rode A-stem, acc.
blode O-stem, acc. } 269-270.

þer Adv.
chere OFr. *chere* } 283-284.

II. Special cases:

(1) explicable as containing petrified dative:

wonde A-stem, acc.
grounde M. O-stem. } 223-224.

(2) not explicable except as containing the old plural ending *e*, which is improbable, taken with other evidences of B's age:

werke N. O-stem, acc. pl.
kyrke F. Wk. stem, acc. sing. } 369-370.

bryng Verb, infin.
thyng N. O-stem, acc. pl. } 413-414.

III. B has retained the rhymes of A with three exceptions: *lyf-lyf* 45-46, which B alters to *dede* (adj.) -þe *quede* 81-82, evidently to avoid the identical rhyme; *fode-blode* 59-60, to *blode-mode* 107-108; and *blode-rode* 77-78 to *blode-stode* 153-154.

These last two cases might be regarded as emendations of B to restore true rhymes, but that in the first case changes made by B in the lines immediately preceding seem naturally to lead to a different rhyme here; and that in the second, B seems to have broken the rhyme in order to introduce more detail, the progress of the narrative in A being at this point very rapid. Moreover, in another place, B retains this same rhyme of A (A 207-208, B 355-356), which seems to show that he was not aware of its irregularity.

B. Final *e* in the Interior of the Line.

The scansion of the B-text is, in general, difficult, because (a) the manuscripts frequently offer several different readings for the same line, and (b) the lines are often manifestly corrupt. Moreover, since certain lines not involving a final *e* scan only when the stress is placed awkwardly, it is possible that some of those cited below, which scan well only when final *e* is sounded,[8] were not intended to contain any final *e* syllable, as 35, 83, 91, 130 and 358. The critical readings, however, would indicate that in the following cases final *e* was probably sounded in the original of the extant manuscripts:

I. Nouns

A-stems, nom. acc.
sowlë, 4, 69,* 402.

Weak stems.
hertë, 338; in compound, 224.

Ja-stem.
blyssë, 412.

Romance words.
Joyë, 197.*
placë, 408.

[8] As lines 11, 261, and 403.

N. O-stem, acc. sing. (which took *e* in the *Troilus*[9]) *Sothë*, 315.

II. Verbs

Infinitives

helpë, 35, 83; *fyndë*, 89, 358; *spoylë*, 133; *repentë*, 329; *demë*, 369*; *sekë*, 408*; *put*[ë or *en*] ? 403.

Pres. Ind. first sing.
pray[ë], 261.

Pres. Ind. 3rd sing.
woldë, 91.

Pret. Ind. 1st sing.
haddë, 95; *most*[ë], 318.

Pret. Ind. 3rd plur.
madë, 145.

2nd Optative sing.
payë, 211.

III. Adjectives

Strong:

sing. *myldë*, 108.
plur. *gretë*, 130.
fewë, 96.
allë, 414.

Weak, plur. *ownë*, 240.[10]

On the other hand, the following lines, in which final *e* was pronounced in the A-text, have been altered in the B-text, apparently to avoid final *e*'s counting as a syllable: 40, 42[b], 88, 93, 104, 122, 136, 194, 214, 216, 222, 350, 379 (corresponding to A 14, 18, 50, 53, 58, 62, 68, 114, 132, 134, 140, 198, 221). Certain lines in A requiring the pronunciation of final *e* were taken over by B, however, without alteration: A 10, 17, 21, 54, 77, 91, 119, 126, 148, 149,

[9] See Kitt. *Observ.* p. 44.

[10] Lines difficult of scansion are, for example: 11, 13, 78, 107, 252, 269, 283, 388.

157, 194, 203 = B 34, 42*, 43, 94, 153, 169, 201, 208, 232, 233, 243, 346, 351.

From the above inconsistent evidence it hardly seems safe to draw conclusions as to the pronunciation of final *e* at the time of the composition of the B-text. Such evidence as there is, however, appears to indicate a general laxity of usage in this respect.

§2. Dialect of the Original B-Text.

The stressed vowels in the following rhymes indicate Midland or Southern origin for the B-text:

ydo / *þo* } 95–96 *wo* / *ydo* } 275–276.

þer / *chere* } 283–284.

more / *forlore* } 99–100. *two* / *do* } 397–398.

On the other hand, the text contains one rhyme with the Northern *k* from AS. *c:*

werke / *kyrke* } 369–370.

The indications of Midland or Southern origin noted above are corroborated by the prefix *y* in *y-do,* lines 95, 276, and perhaps in *y-spoke,* 333, though the evidence supplied by the prefix is not in itself altogether reliable, since the scansion of the original is not certain.

THE LONG CHARTER, C-TEXT.

The following rhymes occurring in portions of the C-text which are not found in the B-text, indicate a Midland or Southern original for this version, though the unique manuscript is chiefly Northern:

þore, *before* } 87-88; 227-228.

fro, *to* } 115-116.

underfong, *tong* } 133-134.

The rhyme *do-so*, 131-132, is of particular interest, since it represents a scribe's attempt to join two portions of text that seem not to be in proper sequence. Line 132 appears to be of this scribe's own composition, and the rhyme indicates that he was not a Northern man (cf. p. lxxxix).

Two occurrences of one distinctly Northern rhyme, however, are found:

werke, *kyrke* } 297-298; 305-306.

THE SHORT CHARTER.

§ 1. Final *e*.

A. Rhyme words.

The following words ending in Anglo-Saxon in final *e* occur in rhyme with words that did not:

ending A-stem, acc.; *kyng* O-stem, nom. } 9-10.

seckernesse acc.; *is* verb. 3rd sing. } 31-32.

here adv.; *dere* pl. adj. in the pred. } 1-2.

Doubtful cases:

smerte noun, acc. sing.; *herte* wk. noun, acc. sing. } 11-12.

The critical reading here would make *smerte* a noun. Compare Kittredge, *Observations on the Language of Chaucer's Troilus*,[11] who believes the form in final *e* to be an adjective. Mss. *E* and *I* insert *paynes* before *smerte*.

Rhymes Occurring in Particular Manuscripts.

dette OFr.
sett Past part. } e-f. Mss. *A* and *B* only.

ending A-stem, acc.
reynynge Pres. part in pred. } 9-10. Ms. *L* only.

B. Final *e* in the Interior of the Line.

Critical readings indicate that final *e* was pronounced in the following cases:

sayë, inf., 17; *whichë* or *samë*, wk. adj. sing., 29; *ownë*, wk. adj. sing., 30; *morë*, wk. adj. sing., 31; *firstë*, wk. adj. sing., 34.

Cases of doubtful scansion, where final *e* may have been sounded, are:

hauë Pres. Ind. 1st sing., 7, 18.
gyfe Infin. 15.

The plural inflexional ending *es* in *woundës*, 5, and *stonës*, 24, were also probably sounded.

In view of such incomplete lines (metrically) as 10 and 28, it is uncertain whether final *e* was actually sounded or not in the cases mentioned in this paragraph; but see the next paragraph.

§2. Dialect of Original Text.

The dialect of the original text was Northern, as is shown by the vowels in the stressed syllables of the two rhymes:

[11] *Chaucer Society*, Ser. 2. vol. xxviii, 140-1, note.

quake Infin.
brake Pret. Indic. 3rd pl. } 23-24.

thing Noun, acc.
hyng Pres. Indic. 1st sing. } 29-30.

and in corroboration

seckernesse
is (would have been *es*) } 31-32.

The fact that the dialect was Northern makes it probable that final *e* was sounded only in cases where the metre made it indispensable.

APPENDIX II

Additional Texts

1. CARTA *DOMI*NI *NOST*RI IESU *CHRIST*I
Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 21253, f. 186a.

Sciant presentes et futuri. *scilicet.* omnes qui sunt celo et in terra. Quod ego Iesus *Christus* filius dei patris et Marie virginis deus et homo pro hereditate mea Iniuste et proditiose a meis ablata diu sub manu aduersarij detenta teste toto mundo in stadio pugnaui aduersum diuici. victoriam optinui et hereditatem meam recuperaui sesinam in parasceue cum heredibus meis accepi. habendum et tenendum seisinam in longitudinem et latitudinem in eternum. *secundum* dispositum est a patre meo. libere et quiete. Annuatim et continue Reddendo cor mundum deo et animam puram. In cuius rei testimonium hanc presentem cartam proprio sanguine conscripsi. legi. per totum mundum publicaui. Sigillum que mee diuinitatis apposui cum testomonio patris et spiritus. Nam hij tres testimonia dant in celo scripta. lecta et confirmata. et generi humano tradita feria. *quinta.* parasceues. super montem caluarie publice et aparte in eternum durature. Anno a creatione mundi. 5. 2. 3. 2. Nota quod condicio amplia est vt continue Reddamus deo cor mundum et animam puram al[i]oquin satisfacimus contra ius nostrum Si autem preuemus a peccato. Iusto titulo vendicare possumus regnum celorum. [f. 186 b] Dicunt enim Iura ciuilia quod filius habens patrem suum interfectum non potest vendicare hereditatem patris sui nisi prosequatur interfectorem patris sui Pater noster *Christus* est interfectus. Quis eum interfecit. Certe peccatum. quia peccatum erat causa quare captus est. flagellatus. et occisus. Si ergo vis esse heres eius oportet quod prosequeris. peccatum quod eum interfecit. sicut filius prosequitur interfectorem patris sui. non desistens eum damnare et alios ad eius odium aluere. Age quod illud iudicetur. exulet. *et* interficiat *et* omnino et finaliter destruatur.

Numquam patiaris quam in te est quod peccatum fauorem habeat et quod omnes illud odiant. que interfecit patrem tuum Christum. Et sic poteris iuste vindicare eius hereditatem. scilicet Regnum celorum.

2. *CARTA LIBERA*

St. John's Coll. Camb. MS. E. 24, f. 22a.

Variant readings from St. John's Coll. MS. D. 8, f. 174b are recorded in the footnotes. The rimes would be restored in lines 19 and 20 by transposing *pedes* and *manus*, and by reading *des te* instead of *te des*.

Hic incipit carta libera domini nostri Ihesu Christi

Hec quicunque sciant presentes atque futuri
Et memores fiant nisi sint sensus sibi duri
Quod uir ego ihesus bethlem de uirgine natus
Ierusalem lesus crucifixus ludificatus
Dando concessi cunctis nec ab inde recessi
Regnum celeste si semper uiuant honeste
Aut si quando tamen faciant quocunque grauamen
Non ita delebor si peniteant miserebor
Nec quicquam [1] cupio reddi nisi cordis amorem
Hoc homo iam sicio [2] pro quo tibi fundo cruorem
Ergo pro feodo cor tuum redde [3] mihi gratum
Taliter ecce modo tibi trado meum laceratum
Inspice deuote precor inspice mente serena
Ostendo pro te que quanta sunt mea pena
Hic sunt transfossa caro uene cor cutis ossa
Ac mea premunda te lauit sanguis et unda
Nam qui per pomum fueras sine fine peremptus
Nec es abinde demum sub tale [4] sorte redemptus
Ecce cor ecce pedes capud ecce manus ego sanus
Sum mihi si te des tibi do me fac ita pro me
Traditus a iuda sum captus et inde [5] ligatus

[1] *quicquid.*
[2] *sitis.*
[3] *redde tuum* (correctly).
[4] *tali.*
[5] Omits *inde.*

Omnia sunt nuda que plebs fecit atque pilatus[6]
Scilicet in fine probra sputa flagellaque plura
Crux claui spine fel lancea passio dura
Et sique pacior uideantur non satis arta
Post hec en morior hec mors *homo* fit[7] tua carta
Nemo potest iure priuare quin[8] ista tenebunt
En quot secure warantizare ualebunt
Testibus hiis factis tenebris velo quoque scisso
Petris confractis terremotu sub abysso
Si plures uultis testante Johanne que matre
Ac aliis multis cum sacro neupmate patre
In cuius rei testimonium requiei
ut stet tranquillum cor[9] proprium pono sigillum
In caluarie summo sunt hec data gratis
Sanguine scripta die quo iam morior valeatis
Sanguine tamen puro cartam frater tibi scripsi
Et pro securo proprium cor penditur ipsi, amen.[10]

3. *CARTA DEI*

Bod. MS. Kent Charter 233.

Knowyn alle men that are & schuln ben
That I Jhc' of Nazaren
Wyt myn wyl and herte good
For myn handwerk and for my blod
Have grantyd, ȝovyn and confermyd is
To christenemen in erthe I wys
Thourch my charte that the mon se,
My body that heng on the tre,
A mes housyd fayir and fre,
It is hevene blysse I telle the,
Betwen est and west, north and south,
To hem her dwellyn it is wel couth,

[6] After line 22 MS. D 8 (perhaps correctly) places lines 27-28.
[7] *sit.* [8] *quod.*
[9] *proprium cŏr* (correctly).
[10] These two lines occur only in MS. D 8.

To havyn and heldyn that swete place
Wel gud in pes thourch my grace,
To crystene man that synne wyl fle,
Heritable and in fee,
For the servise that lyt therinne,
That is, to kepyn man fro synne,
Of the chel [read *chef*] lord of that fee
Every synne flede hee.
And I Jhc' of Nazaren
And my eyris qwat so he ben
In warantyse we schuln us bynde
To crystene man wythoutyn hende
In wytnesse of thys thing
My syde was opned in selyng.
To thys charte trewe and good
I have set my seal, myn herthe blod,
These am the wytnesses trewe and god;
The garlond of thorn on myn hed stode,
The schorges and the naylis long,
And the spere my herte stong,
The stoppe ful of eysil and galle,
And Hely ely that I gan calle,
My blody terys me ronnyn fro,
My bondys, my peynis and othir mo.
ȝovyn and garantyd be my wyl
At Calvarie on that held [*read* hyl]
The friday befor the paske day,
Therof I may noȝt seyn nay,
The ȝer of my regne her
Thretty wyntyr and thredde half ȝer.
Hec est carta Dei.

4. *CARTA CELESTIS HEREDITATIS*

(A Prose Tract, related to the Charter of Christ.)

This treatise, entitled variously, *Carta Celestis Hereditatis, Chartre of Heuene, Charter of oure heuenli Eritage, Chartre of*

Heven Blisse, Diploma Caeli, forms part of the *Poor Caitiff,* a work comprising a series of tracts, which has been ascribed to Richard Rolle,[1] to Wycliff,[2] and to an unknown friar. So far as I know, the earliest MSS. date from the fourteenth century, and there are several of the fifteenth century.[3] On a "spare page" at the beginning of one of the manuscripts, Harl. 2336, is the following: *Dixit Episcopus Cicestrensis quod Frater Minor compilavit hunc librum in suo Defensorio.* The compiler of the Harleian Catalogue from which I obtained this information, adds: "I doubt not but that this Bishop of Chichester was Reginald Pecok, who was thought to favor the Lollards, and was openly persecuted and deprived, as guilty of Heresy." It will be seen that the *Carta* of the *Poor Caitiff* is not a charter, in spite of its name, but a tract which discusses the Charter of Christ, its component parts, etc., and urges man to be mindful of it and to study it. Its relation to the *Charter of Christ* has been discussed in Chapter II.[4]

[1] See *Cat. of Camb. Univ. MSS.*, Vol. III (1858) under the description of MS. Ii. 6. 40, where this treatise is recorded with the title, *A Charter of remission,* and ascribed to Richard Rolle.

[2] By Mr. Wharton, according to *Cat. Harl. MSS. of Brit. Mus.* 1808, under MS. 1706. I do not know where Mr. Wharton makes this statement. This is ascribed to Wycliffe also by Robert Vaughan (*John de Wycliffe, D.D.,* 1853, Appendix, p. 533). See also *Cat. of Ash. MSS.* under MS. 1286, and *Report Hist. MSS. Com.* VIII (London, 1881) App. part III, 101, under Ashburnham MS. Add. 27*d.* Compare with these, Shirley, *Fasciculi Zizanorum,* Rolls Series (London, 1858), p. xiii, note 3 (referred to in this connection by ed. of *Cat. of Stowe MSS.*, 1895, Vol. I, 23).

[3] The two oldest of which I have record are: Ms. Ashburnham Add. 27*d* (See *Report Hist. MSS. Com.* VIII. App. part III, 101) of the fourteenth century. The others are Ms. Bod. 4 (of which I do not know the date); Mss. Ashmole 1286 (about 1400); Douce 13, 288, 322; Rawl. C. 751; Bod. 938 (See Horstman, *Richard Rolle* I, 3), all of the fifteenth century; Mss. Harl. 1706, 2322, 2335, 2336, 4012, of which I do not know the dates; Ms. Add. (Brit. Mus.) 30897, Ms. Stowe 38, both of the fifteenth century; Camb. Univ. Mss. Ff. 5. 45, Ff. 6. 34, Ii. 6. 40, Hh. 1. 12, all of the fifteenth century; Bibl. Nat. Paris, Ms. angl. 41, fol. 95[a] ff.

[4] John Bale has the following entry concerning another charter of the fourteenth century: "Brendanus monachus et abbas Hibernus, scrip-

[Cambridge University MS. Ff. 6. 34.]

[f. 72.] A good tretys of a notable chartour of pardoun of oure lorde Ihesu crist &c. [in a different and later hand].

Euery wise man þat cleymeþ his eritage. eiþir askeþ gret pardoun: kepiþ bisili & haþ ofte mynde vpon þe chartre of his calenge | & þerfore eche man lerne to liue vertuously: & kepe & haue mynde vppon þe chartre of heuene blisse | & stodie stidfastli þe witte of þis bille: for þe pardoun þerof schal dure wiþouten ende | vndirstonde wel þat þe chartre of his eritage, & þe bulle of his euerlastinge pardoun: is oure lord ihesu crist. writen wiþ al þe myȝt & vertu of god | þe parchemyn of þis heuenli chartre. is neiþir of scheep ne of calf: but it is þe bodi & þe blessid skyn of oure lord ihesu loomb þat neuere was spottid wiþ wem of synne | & was þere neuere skyn of scheep neiþir of calfe so sore & so hard streined on þe teynture eiþir harewe of eny parchemyn makere as was þe blessid bodi and skyn [f. 72b] of oure lord ihesu crist. for oure loue streined & drawen vppon þe iebat of þe cros herde neuer man fro þe biginnyng of þe world til to now. neþir schal hens to domesdai: þat euere writere wroot vppon schepis skin eiþir on calues wiþ so hard & hidouse pennes. so bittirli so sore & so depe as writen þe cursid Iewis vppon þe blessid bodi & swete skin of oure lord ihesu crist. wiþ harde nailes. scharpe spere & sore prickinge þornes instide of here pennes | thei writen so sore & so depe. þat þei perciden hise hondes & feet wiþ harde nailes: þei openeden his herte wiþ a scharpé spere | þei perssiden vppon his heed a corowne of

sit . . . *Cartam coelestis hereditatis*, li. 1. 'Quisquis sapiens hereditatem vendi.' [authority] *Ex domo Michaelis Hobley.*" *Index Brit. Script.* ed. R. L. Poole, Oxf. 1902, pp. 49-50; and *Script. Illus.* . . . *Catalogus* (post. pars), Basileae, 1559, p. 236. Concerning this work, Dr. Gustav Schirmer (*Zur Brendanus Legende*, Leipzig, 1888, pp. 10-11) expresses the opinion that the *Carta coelestis hereditatis* can not be attributed to St. Brendan. I have no means of arriving at a knowledge of the contents of this charter; but it would seem to me probable that it is a version of the *Carta Coelestis hereditatis*. The initial sentence of the *Carta* of Brendanus and that in the *Poor Caitiff* suggest a common origin, the *Poor Caitiff* Charter beginning, in one version, "Euery wise man þat cleymeþ his eritage," and in another (MS. Douce 13) "Everie wise man that deynieth his heritage."

scharpe þornes þat licli perciden to his brayn panne | þe woundis vppon þat blessid bodi and swete skyn of crist: weren instide of lettris | & as clerkis seyn & specialli seint anselme, þere weren vppon þe blessid bodi of crist open woundis bi noumbre fyue þousend foure hundrid seuenti & fyue | þis is þe noumbre of lettris: wiþ whiche oure chartre was writen | bi which we moun cleyme oure eritage. if we liven [f. 73] rijtli: & kepe þis chartre stidfastly in mynde | þe sentence & vndirstonding writen wiþinne & wiþoute þis blessid chartre & bodi of ihesu crist: is oure bileue | for he is þe cofre in whom is closid & loken: al þe tresoure of witte & wisdom of god | vppon þis blessid chartre. was writen weilinge. eiþir mournynge. song & sorwe | weilinge eiþir mornynge: for sorwe of oure synnes | for þe whiche to ben helid & waschen awey: crist god and man must suffre so hard & peyneful woundis | vppon cristis bodi þat is oure heuenli charter: was writen singinge to alle þilke þat parfiteli forsaken here synnes | for þei han ful medicine & helpe: þorouȝ vertu of the bittir woundis & precious blood of ihesu | & vppon þe woundis of ihesu mai be red sorwe, to alle hem þat for false likinge & lust þat duriþ but a while, byndeu hem-self to synne & seruage of þe fend | & leseu þe help of þe heuenli chartre & so here heritage: & wenden blyndli to sorwe þat duriþ for euere | þe laces of þis heuenli chartre: is þe biheeste of god & þat god mai not lie, for he is sothefast trewþe | þe firste laas is his [f. 73 b] biheeste: þat wan dai eiþer eure a synful man eiþir woman leueþ here synne hooli & hertli wiþ bittir sorwe & turneþ hem to him: he schal receiue hem to his mercy | but eche man be war þat he tarie not longe: lest for his owne vnkyndenesse grace be taken fro him. þe secounde laas is þe ful trist þat we han þat god may not lie nejþir be falle of his biheeste. herenne hongiþ al oure trist of oure eritage | & bi þese two laces hongiþ þe seel of oure chartre: seiled wiþ þe blood of þe lomb crist. þat is crist[a] flessche taken of the clennest dayes of blood in þe wombe of oure maidene moore cruelli & martyrdomli. þan euery wiȝ can it rede of kynde gaderiþ þe wax of flowres of þe feeld. þe ȝerne of þe

[a] Transcript reads ȝerne.

seel: is þe schap of oure lord ihesu crist hanginge for oure synne on þe cros. as we moun se bi þe ymage of þe crucifix | he haþ his heed bowid don: redi to kisse alle þilke þat verili turnen to him he haþ hise armes spred abrood: redi to biclippe hem | he is nailed faste foot & honde to þe crosse: for he wole duelle wiþ [f. 74] hem & neuere wende awey fro man: but if man forsake him first þorouȝ synne | he haþ al his bodi spred abrood: to ȝeue himself hoolly to vs cleuynge to him | vtterli he haþ his side opened: & his herte cloue for or oure sake | so þat wiþoute lettinge we moun crepe in to cristis herte & reste þere þorouȝ stidfast bileue & herti loue | þis chartre may not fiyr brenne ne watir drenche: neiþir þeef robbe neiþir ony creature distroie | for þis scripture þe fadir of heuene haaþ halewid eiþir maad stidfast | & sente it into þe world; þe whiche scripture mai not be vndo as þe gospel witnessiþ | þis scripture is oure lord Ihesu crist: chartre & bulle of oure eritage of heuene | locke not þis chartre in þi coffre: but sette it eiþir write it in þin herte | & alle þe creatures in heuene neiþir in erþe neiþir in helle moun not robbe it neiþir bireue it fro þe. but if þou wolt þi self assentinge to synne | & if þou kepist weel þis chartre in þe coffre of þin herte wiþ good liuynge & deuote loue lastingli to þin ende | as tristeli & treuli as he is trewe [f. 74b] god: þoroouȝ vertu of hise chartre þou schalt haue þin eritage of blisse durinȝe wiþouten ende. . . .

GLOSSARY OF SPECIAL WORDS

BS = Bradley-Stratmann's Mid. Eng. Dict. BT = Bosworth and Toller's Old Eng. Dict. NED = New Eng. Dict. A = *Long Charter*, A-Text; B = *Long Charter*, B-Text. The numbers refer to lines in the texts. The glossary aims only at furnishing a convenient record of unusual terms and of special meanings of common words, and the above authorities have been freely used in compiling it.

abye: infin. [OE. *a* + *bycgan*], suffer, pay the penalty. B 66.

als-tyté (-tite): see *as-tyte*.

a-party (-i): adv. [from *a* prep. + *party* > Fr. *partie*], in part, somewhat, a little. A 199.

aplyȝt (-plight): adv. [*a prep.* + OE. *plight*], in faith, truly, certainly, surely. B, MS. *C* 14.

as-tyte (-tite; also spelled erroneously -tight(e), tyȝte, tyht, etc., cf. NED): adv. [North. *as* + *tite* Scand. cf. ON. *titt*, frequently, etc.], immediately. B 14.

bykeþe: noun [perhaps from OE. *bī-cwide*, proverb, fable, tale <ME. *by-quide*, *biȝ-cwide*, also spelled *beqwede*, *biqwethe*, *becweðe*, etc.] ? bequest. A, MS. *G* 209. *Bykeye* (*-kaye*) of the other MSS. of A is probably intended for the same word.

by-keye (-kaye): probably intended for *bykeþe*, q. v.

betought: vb., 3. sing. pret. [OE. *betǣcan*], to entrust, commit, give in charge to. B 377.

demed: vb. 1. sing. pret. [OE. *dēman*], to decree, ordain, appoint. A, MSS. *IK* 15.

demytted: vb. 1. sing. pret. [Lat. *dēmittĕre*, cf. OFr. *demetre*], fig. sig., to humble, abase. But the NED gives no example of this word earlier than 16th cent., and of this meaning none before 17th cent. A 15.

fand (fondede): vb. 3. sing. pret. [OE. *fandian*, *ȝefandian*], to test, put to the proof, tempt, try. A 29.

fondede: see *fand*.

fray: noun [aphetic from *affray, effray* > OFr. *effrei, esfrei*], assault, attack. A 196.

hende: adv. [appar. an aphetic form of OE. *gehende*], courteously, kindly, gently. B 92.

me: error for *By*. A, MSS. *F, H, I, K, L* 23.

mistayle: noun [OFr. *mestaille*], evil plight. A, MS. *I* 131.

neb: noun [OE. *nebb*], face. A 83.

piht (pyȝt, y-piht, y-pyȝt, etc.); vb. pp. [ME. *picche* (*n*) prob. from OE. **picc(e)an* of 1st wk. cl., pret. **pihte*. The NED says there is no recorded instance of this word in OE., nor in cognate languages], placed, set, driven into the ground, set up, etc. A 75, 161; B 247.

plyght: vb. pp. probably an error for *piht*, q. v. A, MS. *G* 75.

qued: noun [early ME. *cwead, cwed, cwad* = O. Fris. *quad*, etc.], the evil (one), the devil, a meaning derived from the adjective *qued(-e)* evil, wicked. B 82.

scryt(e): noun [aphetic from OFr. *escrit*], a writing, written document. A 193.

sesyng (saysing, etc.): verbal noun [OFr. *saisir, seisir*], the act of taking possession of, investing or establishing in a holding. A 24, 25, 34, 105; B 39, 50, 53, 185.

skift: vb. 3 sing. pres. Ind., syncopated form [OE. *sciftan*], to ordain, act, devise (with intran. sense). The ordinary trans. meaning is, to change, move, shift. Cf. pp. civ. f. A, MS. *G* 122.

stiδ: noun [ON. *steδi*], anvil, stithy.

strayste: error for *strait* (?)*te*. A, MS. *I* 78.

wen (wēne?): adj. [OE. (*or-*)*wāna* = Goth. (*us-*)*wēna*, ON. *vænn*, OHG. (*ur-*)*wani*], hopeful, beautiful. BS gives but one example of this word, in the comparative degree. Cf. p. xcv. A, MSS. *F, G* 90. In OE. BT records the form *wēn-liċ*, fair, handsome, comely.

VITA

I, Mary Caroline Spalding, daughter of the Rev. Charles Nelson Spalding, D. D., and Mary Hewetson Appleton Spalding, was born in San Francisco, California, on February 23rd, 1877.

I was prepared for college at Kemper Hall, Kenosha, Wisconsin, and entered Vassar College in 1897, taking the A. B. degree in 1901. During the years 1897 to 1899, I held a scholarship at Vassar College awarded by Kemper Hall; and from 1899 to 1901, a Vassar undergraduate scholarship.

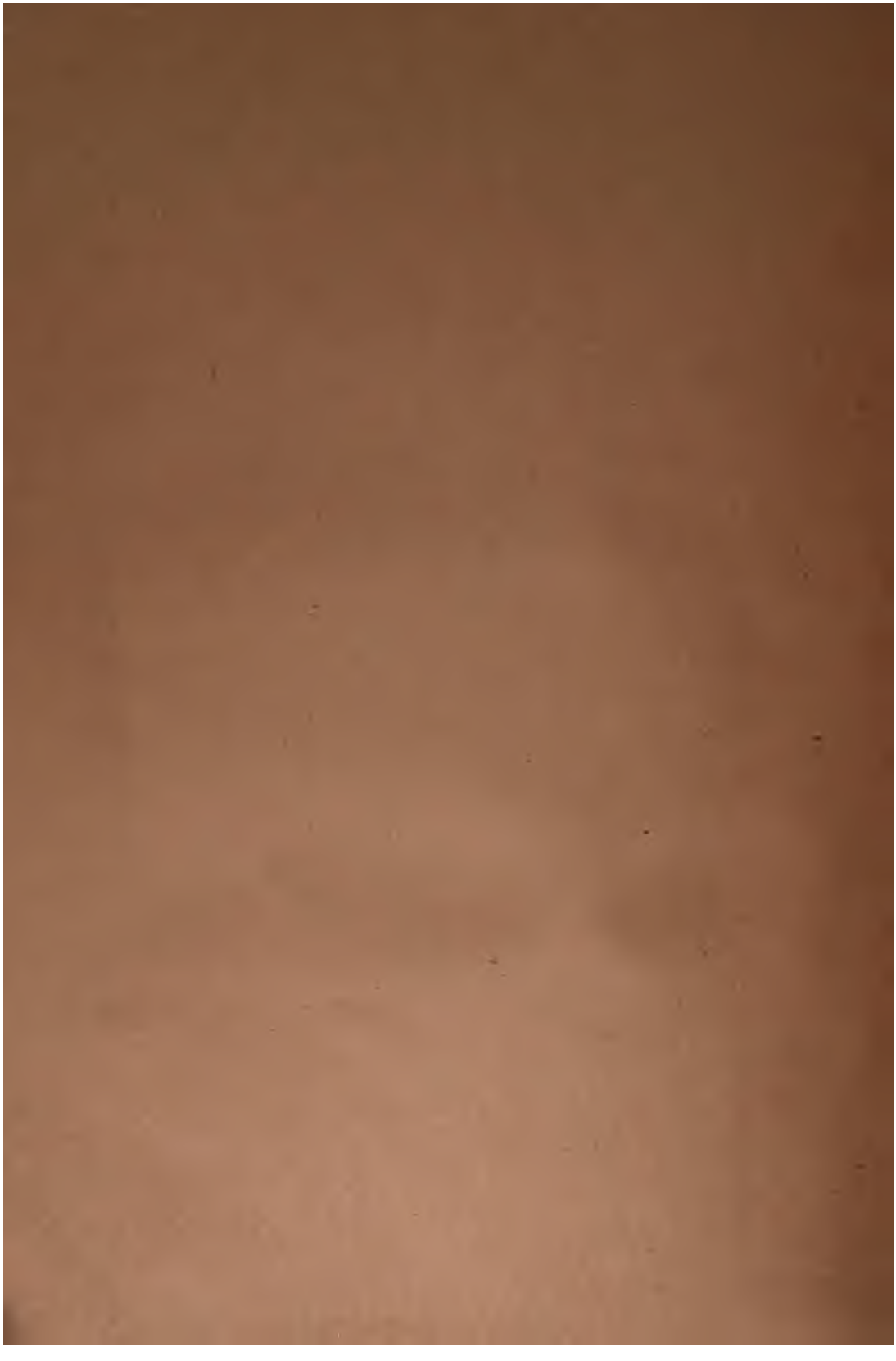
In 1906, I entered graduate courses at Bryn Mawr College. From 1908 to 1910 I held a graduate scholarship in English at Bryn Mawr College, and was awarded the Fellowship in English for the year 1910-1911. I attended the Summer School of the University of Chicago in 1908.

My graduate work in the major subject, English Philology, has been directed by Professor Carleton Brown, and Dr. Samuel Moore, and in the minor subjects, English Literature and Old French, by Professor A. H. Upham and by Professor Richard T. Holbrook. My examinations for the degree of Ph. D. were taken in May, 1912.

From 1901 to 1910, I was Instructor in English (and during the first three years, in Mathematics also) at the Misses Shipley's School, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania.

In 1910, I published an article entitled *Landericus and Wacherius* in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association,* for March of that year, Vol. xxv, pp. 152-163.

The accompanying dissertation was presented to the Faculty of Bryn Mawr College in May, 1912, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Further information relating to it, and special acknowledgments of aid received in the preparation of it, will be found in the Preface.



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